

H. J. 12 40
Ab, Ha;

Tumulus, Thalamus:

An Advertisement to the
Two Counters

POEMS,

The First, an

ELEGY

Upon Edward

late Earl of

Dor

The Second, an

EPITHALAMIVM

to the Lord M. of

chester.

Invicem cedunt Dolor & Voluptas,
Funera, Tædæ,

Sorrow may endure for a Night,
But joy cometh in the Morning.

May. n

LONDON,

Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold
at his Shop at the Prince's Armes in St Paul's
Church-yard. 1654

04

H. M.

An Advertizement to the
READER.

IN regard ther are divers imperfect and spu-
rious Copies of these two Poems dispersed
abroad, I obtain'd leave of the Author to com-
mit them to the press assuring the Reader that
these are concordant with the Originalls.

Second Edition H. M.



AN ELEGY UPON THE
MOST ACCOMPLISH'D,
AND HEROIC LORD
EDWARD,
EARL OF
DORSET,

Lord Chamberlain to His late Majesty of
Great Britain, and Knight of the most
Noble Order of the Garter, &c.

The Quality of the Times,

His admired Perfections,

His goodly Person,

His Antient Pedigree,

His Coat of Armes crested with a *Star*,

The Condition of Mortality,

The Passion of the Author closing
with an Epitaph.

Alluding to

Wid

AN



AN ELEGY UPON THE
LATE EARL OF
DORSET.

Lords have bin long *Declining*, (we well know)
And making their last Testaments, but now
They are *Defunct*, they are *Extinguish'd* All,
And never like to rise by this Lords Fall;

A Lord, whose *Intellectuals* alone
Might make a *House of Peers*, and prop a Throne,
Had not so dire a Fate hung o're the Crown,
That *Privilege Prerogative* should drown;
Where e're he fate he sway'd, & Courts did awe,
Gave *Bishops Gospel*, and the *Judges law*

With

With such exalted Reasons, which did flow
So cleer and strong, that made *Asirea* bow
To his Opinion, for where He did side
Advantag'd more than half the *Bench* beside.
But is great *Sakvile* dead? Do we Him lack,
And will not all the Elements wear black?
Whereof he was compos'd a perfect man
As ever Nature in one frame did span.
Such Highborn *Thoughts*, a *Soul* so large and free,
So clear a *Judgment*, and vast *Memory*,
So Princely *Hospitable* and Brave *Mind*
We must not think in hast on earth to find,
Unless the Times would turn to Gold agen,
And Nature get new strength informing men.
His *Person* with it such a state did bring
That made a *Court* as if He had bin King,
No wonder, since He was so neer a Kin
To *Norfolks Duke*, and the great *Maryden Queen*.

He

He courage had enough by conquering One
To have confounded that whole Nation,
Those parts which single do in some appear
Were all concentred here in one bright Sphear,
For *Brain, Tongue, Spirit, Heart, and Personage*
To mould up such a Lord will ask an age,
But how durst pale white-liver'd Death seaze on
So dauntles and Heroic a Champion?

Yes, to Dye once is that uncancell'd debt
Which Nature claymes, and rayseth by Eschet
On all Mankind by an old Statute past
Primo Adami, which will alwaies last
Without Repeal, nor can a second lease
Be had of Life when the first term doth cease.

Mount noble Soul, Among the starrs take place,
And make a new One of so bright a Race
May *Jove* out-shine, that *Venus* still may be
In a benign Conjunction with Thee,

To

To check that Planet which on Lords hath lowr'd,
And such malign influxes lately powr'd;
Be now a star thy self for those which here
Did on thy Crest, and upper Robes appear,
For thy Director take *that Star* we read
Which to thy Saviours Birth three Kings did lead.

A Corollary.

THus have I blubber'd out some tears and Verse
On this Renowned Heroe, and His Herse,
And could my Eyes have drop'd down *Pearls* upon't
In lieu of *Tears*, God knowes, I would have don't,
But *Tears* are real, *Pearls* for their Emblems go,
The first are fitter to expresse my Wo;
Let this small mite suffice untill I may
A larger tribut to his ashes pay,
In the mean time this Epitaph shall shut,
And to my Elegy a period put.

Here

Here lie's a *Grande* by Birth, Parts, and Mind,
Who hardly left his Parallell behind,
Here lie's the *Man of Men*, who should have been
An Emperour, had *Fate* or *Fortune* seen.

Totus in lachrymas solutus

sic singultivit

L. H.



THE

UPON THE NUPTIALLS

OF THAT PRINCELY PAIR

HENRY Lord Marques
OF **DORCHESTER**,

AND

The Lady **KATHERINE STANLEY**,
Daughter to the late Heroic Earl
of **DERBY**,

An *Ephalamium* by way of Dialog
'twixt *Philemon* and *Sylvius*.

- | | | | |
|----------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| Alluding
to their | { | 1. Complexions, | { He Sanguin, |
| | | | { She Black and Fair. |
| | | 2. Coats of Arms, | { Both <i>Field-Argent</i> , |
| | | | { His a Lion Rampant
in an orb of <i>Cinqfoyls</i> . |
| | | 3. Countries. | |
| | | 4. Pedigrees. | |

Going on with an *Hymenæum*, or *Vote*,
comprized in four *Musicall Stanzas*, the
three first *Ayrie* and *Poeticall*, the
last *Serious*.

The DIALOGUE.

Philemon.

VVhat Object's that which I behold
Dazzling my eyes with gemms and Gold?
Her Face, me thinks, darts such a ray
That adds more brightnes to the Day,
Her breath perfumes the place, Her curls and hair
Like Indian spice aromatize the Air,
A sparkling white and black breaks from her sight
Like to the Diamonds redoubling light,
As she doth walk the very ground and stone
Turn to Field-*Argent* which she treads upon;
A Mortal sure she cannot be
But some transcending Deitie;
My dearest *Sylvius* pray unfold
Who's that rare Creature I behold?

Sylvius.

Sylvius.

She is a Princess and a Bride
Goesto the Temple to be ti'd
In Nuptiall bonds, her stars will not permit
That at the Vestall fires She longer sit;
She's Derby's *Royall* blond, *Derby le Gray*,
And now She travells to the *Ile of Man*,
She of the Princely *Orange* is a branch
Imp'd on the high *Trimovillian* stem of *France*,
Two of the fairest Kingdomes strove, and try'd
Their Utmost to compleat this Lovely Bride.
'Tis she which makes 'twixt gemms and gold,
That Constellation you behold.

Philemon.

But who's that comely sanguine Peer
Which on her heart-side walks so neer?
He likewise makes all *Argent* as he goes,
Look at his feet how thick the *Cinqfoyl* grows.

Sylvius.

TIs Wife and Wealthy *Pierrpont*, who renowns
With Titles, *Three* of Englands chiefeſt Towns,
A precious pond'rous Lord, whose ſole Eſtate
A Jury of new Barons might create,
Patron of Virtue, Chivalry, and Arts
'Cause he himſelf excells in all theſe Parts;
'Tis He who by the hand doth hold
That Demi-Goddeſs you behold.

Philemon.

IS't ſo? then my Autumnall Muſe ſhall ſing
An *Hymeneum*, and fetch back Her ſpring,
This Subject a freſh vigor doth inſpire,
And heats my brain with an unuſuall fire.



A N
H Y M E N Æ U M,
O R
B R I D A L - S O N E T,

Consisting of four *Stanzas*, and to be
sung by three voices, according to
a choice Air set thereunto by Mr.

WILLIAM WEBB.

1. *Chorus*

May all Felicity betide

This Princely Bridegroom, and his Bride.

May those delights this morn shall bring

Be endless as their Nuptiall Ring,

May they be constant, and exceed

Each Others Wishes, Hopes, and Creed,

May the three Regions of the air

Power shows of blessings on this pair,

B 3

May

An Hymenæum.

May *Sol* and *Cynthia* with their rayes,
Silver their nights and *gild* their dayes.

2. Chorus.

All joyes attend and best of Fate
This noble *Marques* and His Mate.

2.

YEe gentle Nymphs of *Trent* and *Dee*
Make hast to this solemnity,
Your streames and beds now meet in one
By this *High-sprung* conjunction,
Ye Wood-nymphs who green garlands wear
In *Shirewood* launds, and *Delamer*,
Yee Dames of *Helicon* attend,
And *Graces* your sweet presence lend,
Lucina com, and pray ther be
Employment in due time for thee.

Chorus.

May all Felicity betide
This noble Bridegroom, and his Bride.

Ye

An Hymeneum.

3.

May they such gallant Males produce
Both to the *Rose* and *Flowerdeluce*,
That Englands Chivalry and French
May multiply, and *bourgeon* hence,
Whose branches shooting o're the Main
May knit, and blossome here again,
That *Pierreponts Lion* and *Cinqfoyls*
May *ramp* and *root* in every soyl,
Nor may this noble Race wear out
Till *Plato's Great year* wheel about.

Chorus.

May all Felicity betide
This noble Bridegroom, and his Bride.

4. Stanza

An Hymeneum.

4. Stanza

Closing with a serious *gradnall*
Vote,

May all the *Elements* conspire
To make them blest'd in their desire,
May all the *Stars* on them reflect
Their mildest looks in *Trine* aspect,
May all the *Angels* them defend
From every thing doth ill portend,
May *Angells, Stars, and Elements*
Affoord Them such compleat contents
That They have nothing els to wish
But a Perseverance of Bliss.

Chorus.

All joyes attend and best of Fate
This noble Marquess and his Mate.

Idem l. 3.

FINIS.

2
†

SCRINIA SACRA;
Secrets of Empire,
IN
LETTERS
Of illustrious Persons.

A SUPPLEMENT
OF THE
CABALA.

IN WHICH
Business of the same Quality and
Grandeur is contained :

With many famous Passages of the late Reigns
of K. HENRY 8. Q. ELIZABETH,
K. JAMES, and K. CHARLS.

may 12 LONDON,

Printed for G. Bedel, and T. Collins, and are to be sold
at their Shop at the Middle-Temple-gate in
Fleet-street. 1654.

1
SPECIAL AGENT

IN

THE FIELD

OF THE

ARMY



OF THE

ARMY



THE
STATIONERS

To the READER.



WE cannot suppose here that words will be needed to raise opinion; yet it may be expected we should give some account of what we have done, and we will do it. Not long ago we printed that excellent collection of Letters known by the name of *Cabala*, which the world has seen and approved. Since, another volume of Letters hath come to our hands; a volume which may justly be called a second *Cabala*, not unworthy to keep that com-

The Stationers

pany, a part which must add much to the other, as illustrious in its titles, as considerable and as weighty for the matter. In which, besides not a few noble monuments of the former years from the deserting of the Roman Church by our great *Henry* downward, of his daughter the most glorious virgin *Queens* life and government recorded, some of the same great actions are begun, many continued; much of the policie, contrivances, and workings of the same succeeding Princes and their Ministers, of the carriage of the same things farther prosecuted, and more fully discovered. Like sister-twins of lovely faces they have both apart their native sweetness, their several worths and graces; yet they are not so fully taking, so perfectly beautiful, as where they are drawn together in one frame. In the new more is discovered, not only of the foreign affairs in *Germany*, *Italy*,
France,

to the Reader,

France, Spain, and other Countries whether the interest of the late Reignes engaged the Sovereign actors; but of our home-Councils, Orders, and provisions both for the Church and Commonwealth, enough to shew the prudence, judgment, and foresight of those who swayed in chief then, and to let us know now the Ages past have had the honour to be governed by men, who did not permit all things to fortune; who if they could not assure themselves of the events, yet they could command, design, and understand: Their designs and counsels (which will be admirable to some, but ridiculous to others) being ever directed and ruled by equity and justice, ever aiming at honest ends, such as may venture abroad, such as will appear fair and handsom in the light: whereas if we cast our eys upon the Popes in the same leasf, we shall find nothing but combustions,

no-

The Stationers

nothing but fire, brimstone and alarums to war and blood. If upon the *French*, nothing but inhumane cruelty and violence upon the conscience too. If upon the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, nothing but artifice, nothing but cunning perfidiousness; all their plots and consultations, their cheating Treaties, tending meerly to the advancement of the *Austrian* house, without any respect to piety and justice, faith or honour. A taste of which unworthiness we find in this second Part, where the Spanish Match is first moved by the Duke of *Lerma*, the grand Minion in *Philip* the 3. his reign; this Duke damns himself in oaths for his sincerity and reality toward the Match, which *Olivarez*, the present Kings Favourite, tels his Master here was never intended. It would be too tedious but to touch in passing by, upon the generals in these Letters; upon the calamities and miseries

to the Reader,

ries of the Palatine *Germans*, of the *Hugonots*, the siege and taking in of *Rochel*, &c. Heresie and Superstition every where triumphing over truth. To speak of the spirit and worthines of our Hero's were impossible ; we might cull out some Letters here, of which (were there no more) might be said,

— *An hand or eye
By Hyliard drawn, is worth a History.*

Of these Letters we may safely be believed, though they come out thus late, and are so little known, their merit will easily weigh down the age and fame of those which have gone before.

*Temple-Gate,
May 1. 1654.*

*G. B.
T. C.*

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F I N I S.



King *HENRY* the 8. to the Clergie
of the Province of *York*, An. 1533.
Touching his Title of *Supreme Head*
of the Church of *England*.



Right Reverend Father in God, Right trusty and welbeloved, We greet you well, and have received your Letters dated at *York* the 6. of *May*, containing a long discourse of your mind and opinion concerning such words as hath passed the Clergie of the Province of *Canterbury* in the Proeme of their Grant made unto us, the like whereof should now pass in that Province. Albeit ye interlace such words of submission of your Judgment, and discharge of your duty towards us with humble fashion and behaviour, as we cannot conceive displeasure nor be discontent with you, considering what you have said to us in times past in other matters, and what ye confess in your Letters your self to have heard and known, noting also the effect of the same; We cannot but marvel at sundry points and Articles, which we shall open unto you, as hereafter followeth.

First, ye have heard (as ye say ye have) the said words to have passed in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, where were present so many learned in Divinity and Law, as the Bishops of *Rochester*, *London*, *S. Asaph*, Abbots of *Hyde*, *S. Bennets*, and many other; and in the Law the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Bath*; and in the Lower House of the Clergie so many notable and great Clerks, whose persons and learning you know well enough. Why do ye not in this case with your

self as you willed us in our great matter, conform your conscience to the conscience and opinion of a great number? Such was your advice to us in the same (our great matter) which now we perceive ye take for no sure counsel; for ye search the grounds, not regarding their sayings. Nevertheless forasmuch as ye examine their grounds, causes and reasons, in doing whereof ye seem rather to seek and examine that thing which might disprove their doings, then that which might maintain the same, We shall answer you briefly without long discourse to the chief points of your said Letters: wherein taking for a ground, that words were ordained to signifie things, and cannot therefore by sinister interpretation alter the truth of them, but only in the wits of perverse persons that would blind or colour the same, by reason whereof to good men they signifie that they mean only doing their office, and to men of worse sort they serve for maintenance of such meaning as they would imagine: so in using words we ought only to regard and consider the expreffion of the truth in convenient speech and sentences, without overmuch scruple of super-perverse interpretations, as the malice of men may excogitate: wherein both overmuch negligence is not to be commended, and too much diligence is not only by daily experience in mens writings and laws shewed frustrate and void; insomuch as nothing can be so cleerly and plainly written, spoken and ordered, but that subtile wit hath been able to subvert the same; but also the Spirit of God, which in his Scripture taught us the contrary, as in the places which ye bring in & rehearse:— if the Holy Ghost had had regard to that which might have been perversly construed of these words, *Pater major me est*; and the other, *Ego & Pater unum sumus*: there should have been added to the first *humanitas*, to the second *substantia*. And wherefore doth the Scripture call Christ *primogenitum*? whereupon, and the Adverb *donec*, was maintained the error *contra perpetuam virginitatem Mariae*. Why have we in the Church S. Pauls Epistle, which S. Peter writeth to have been the occasion of errors? Why did Christ speak of many words, which the Jews drew *ad calumniam*, and yet reformed them not? as when he said, *Solvam Templum hoc*, &c. meaning of his body, where *Templum* with them had another signification; And such other like? There is none other cause but this, *Omnia qua scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt*. And by that Learning we ought to apply and draw words to the truth, and so to understand them as they may signifie truth, and not so to wrest them as they should maintain a lye. For otherwise as Heretiques have done with the holy Scripture, so shall all men do with familiar speech; and if all things shall be brought into familiar disputation, he that shall call us *Supremum & unicum Dominum*, by that means, and as goeth your argu-

argument, might be reprov'd : For Christ is indeed *unicus Dominus & Supremus*, as we confesse him in the Church daily ; and now it is in opinion that *Sancti* be not Mediators : The contrary whereof ye affirm in your Letters, because of the Text of S. Paul, *Unus est Mediator Deum & hominum*. And after that manner of reason which ye use in the entry, if any man should say, This Land is mine own, and none hath right in it but I ; he might be reprov'd by the Psalm, *Domini est terra* : For why should a man call *terram aliquam* onely his, whereof God is the chief Lord and Owner ? Why is it admitted in familiar speech to call a man dead, of whom the soul which is the chief and best part yet liveth ? How is it that we say this man or that man to be founder of this Church, seeing that in one respect God is only founder ? We say likewise that he is a good man to the Church, a special benefactor of the Church : and that the Church is fallen down, when the stones be fallen down, the people preserv'd and living. And in all this manner of speech when we hear them, it is not accustomed ne used to do as ye do, that is to say, to draw the word *Church* to that sentence wherein the speech may be a lye, but to take it in that wherein it signifieth truth. Which accustomed manner if ye had followed, you should not have needed to have laboured so much in the declaration of the word *Ecclesia*, in that signification wherein it is most rarely taken, and cannot without maintenance of too manifest a lye be applied to any man. For taking *Ecclesia* in that sense ye take it, S. Paul wrote amiss writing to the *Corinthians*, saying, *Ecclesia Dei qua est Corinthi* : for by your definition, *non circumscribitur loco Ecclesia*. In the Gospel where Christ said *Dic Ecclesia*, must needs have another interpretation and definition then ye make *de Ecclesia* in your said Letters, or else it were hard to make complaint to all Christendom, as the case in the Gospel requireth. *Sed est candidi pectoris verba veritati accommodare, ut ipsam referre quod eorum officium est non corrumpere videantur*. Furthermore the Lawiers that write how *Ecclesia fallit & fallitur*, what blasphemy do they affirm, if that definition should be given to *Ecclesia* which you write in your Letters, wherein albeit ye write the truth for so far, yet for as much as ye draw that to the words spoken of us to the reprobation of them, yet ye shew your selves contrary to the teaching of Scripture, rather inclined by applying a divers definition to make that a lye which is truly spoken, then *genuino sensu addita & candida interpretatione* to verifie the same. It were *nimis absurdum*, Us to be called *Caput Ecclesia representans corpus Christi mysticum*, & *Ecclesia qua sine ruga est & macula quam Christus sibi Sponsam elegit, illius partem vel oblatam accipere vel arrogare*. And therefore albeit *Ecclesia* is spoken of in these words, touched in the Proeme, yet there is added, *Et Cleri Anglicani* : which

4 *K. Hen. 8. to the Clergie of the Province of York.*

words conjoined restraineth by way of interpretation the word *Ecclesiam*, and is as much to say as the Church, that is to say the Clergy of *England*. Which manner of speaking in the Law ye have professed ye many times finde, and likewise in many other places.

But proceeding in your said Letter, ye have shewed Christ to be *Caput Ecclesie*, ye go about to shew how he divided his power in earth after the distinction *temporalium & spiritualium*, whereof the one ye say he committed to Princes, the other *Sacerdotibus*; for Princes, ye alleadg Texts which sheweth and proveth obedience due to Princes of all men without distinction, be he Priest, Clerk, Bishop, or Lay-man, who make together the Church: and albeit your own words make mention of temporal things, wherein ye say they should be obeyed; yet the Texts of Scripture which ye alleadg having the general words *obedite & subditi estote* contain no such words, whereby spiritual things should be excluded; but whatsoever appertaineth to the tranquillity of mans life is of necessity included, as the words plainly import, as ye also confess; wherefore *Gladium portat Princeps* not only against them that break his Commandment and Laws, but against him also that in any wise breaketh Gods Law; For we may not more regard our Law then God, ne punish the breach of our Laws, and leave the transgressor of Gods Laws unreformed: so as all spiritual things by reason whereof may arise bodily trouble and inquietation, be necessarily included in Princes Power, and so proveth the Text of Scripture by you alleadged: and also the Doctors by you brought in, confirm the same. After that ye intend to prove, which no man will deny, the ministrati-on of spiritual things to have been by Christ committed to Priests to Preach and minister the Sacraments, them to be as Physicians to mens souls; but in these Scriptures neither by spiritual things so far extended, as under colour of that vocable be now adaies, ne it proveth not that their office being never so excellent; yet their persons, acts and deeds, should not be under the power of their Prince by God assigned, whom they should knowledg as their Head; the excellency of the matter of the Office doth not alwaies in all points extoll the dignity of the Minister. Christ who did most perfectly use the Office of a Priest, & *nihil aliud quam vere curavit animas*, gainesaid not the authority of *Pilate* upon that ground; and St. *Paul* executing the Office of a Priest, said, *ad tribunal Cesaris sto, ubi me judicari oportet*: And commanded likewise indistinctly all others to obey Princes, and yet unto those Priests being as members executing that Office, Princes do honour, for so is Gods pleasure and commandment; wherefore howsoever ye take the words in the proleme, we indeed do shew and declare that Priests and Bishops preaching

preaching the word of God, ministring the Sacraments according to Christs Law, and refreshing our people with ghostly and spiritual food, we not only succour and defend them for tranquility of their life, but also with our presence, and otherwise doe honour them as the case requireth, for so is Gods pleasure: Like as the husband, although he be head of the wife, yet saith *S. Paul*, *Non habet vir potestatem sui corporis, sed mulier*, and so is in that respect under her: And having our Mother in our Realm, by the commandment of God we shall honour her, and yet she for respect of our dignity shall honour us by Gods commandment likewise: And the Minister is not always the better man, *sed cui ministratur*; the Physitian is not better then the Prince, because he can do that the Prince cannot, viz. *curare morbum*. In consecration of Archbishops, do not Bishops give more dignity by their ministration then they have themselves? The Doctors ye bring in, taking for their Theme to extoll Priesthood, prefer it to the dignity of a Prince; after which manner of reasoning it may be called *dignius imperare affectibus quam populis*, and so every good man in consideration of every dignity to excell a King not living so perfectly as he doth. And why is a Bishop better then a Priest, seeing and considering in the matter of their office *Episcopus etiam si administret plura, non tamen administrat majora*. Emperors and Princes obey Bishops and Priests as doers of the message of Christ, and his Ambassadors for that purpose: which done, *statim sunt privati*, and in order and quietness of living knowledge Princes as head. For what meant *Iustinian* the Emperour to make Laws *de Episcopis & Clericis*, and such other spiritual matters, if he had not been periwaded *Illi esse curam Ecclesie a Deo mandatam*? This is true, that Princes be *filiis Ecclesie*, that is to say, *illius Ecclesie* which ye define: wherewith it may agree that they be nevertheless *Suprema Capita* of the Congregations of Christian men in their Countries; like as in smaller number of Christian men, *Non est absurdum vocare Superiores capita*, as they be called indeed, and may be called *Primi & Supremi*, in respect of those Countries. And why else doth the Pope suffer any other besides himself to be called Archbishop, seeing that he himself indeed challengeth to be *Princeps Apostolorum & Episcoporum* in *Peters* stead, which the name of an Archbishop utterly denieth. But by addition of the Country they save the sense: whereunto in us to be called *Ecclesia Anglicana* ye at the last agree, so that there were added *in temporalibus*; which addition were superfluous, considering that men being here themselves earthly and temporal, cannot be head and Governour to things eternal, nor yet spiritual, taking that word *spiritual* not as the common speech abuseth it, but as it signifieth indeed: For, *qua spiritali aguntur, nulla lege estinguntur*,

guntur, as the Scripture saith, *Qua Spiritu Dei aguntur libera sunt.* And if ye take *Spiritualibus* for Spiritual men, that is to say, Priests, Clerks, their good acts and deeds worldly, in all this both we and all other Princes be at this day chief and heads, after whose ordinance either in generall or in particular they be ordered and governed. For, leaving old stories, and considering the state of the world in our time, is there any Convocation where Laws be made for the order of our Clergy, but such as by our authority is assembled? And why should not we say as *Iustinian* said, *Omnia nostra facimus quibus a nobis impartitur auctoritas?* Is any Bishop made but he submitteth himself to us, and acknowledgeth himself as Bishop to be our subject? Do not we give our Licence and assent to the election of Abbots? And this is concerning the Persons and Laws spirituall. As touching their goods, it is in all mens opinions learned in our Laws, *Extra controversiam*, that debate and controversie of them appertaineth to our decision and Order. And as for the living of the Clergy, some notable offences we reserve to our correction, some we remit by our sufferance to the Judges of the Clergy; as murther, felony and treason, and such like enormities we reserve to our examination; other crimes we leave to be ordered by the Clergy; not because we may not intermeddle with them, for there is no doubt but as well might we punish adultery and insolence in Priests, as Emperours have done, and other Princes at this day do; which ye know well enough; so as in all those Articles concerning the persons of Priests, their Laws, their Acts and order of living, so far as they be indeed all temporall, and concerning this present life only, in those we (as we be called) be indeed in this Realm *Caput*; and because there is no man above us here, be indeed *supremum Caput*. As to spiritual things, meaning by them the sacraments, being by God ordained as instruments of efficacy & strength, whereby grace is of his infinite goodness conferred upon his people; so far as they be no worldly nor temporal things, they have no worldly nor temporall head but only Christ that did institute them, by whose ordinance they be ministred here by mortal men, elect, chosen and ordered as God hath willed for that purpose, who be the Clergy; who for the time they do that, and in that respect *sanguam ministri versantur in his que hominum potestati non subijciuntur, in quibus si male versantur sine scandalo Deum ultorem habent si cum scandalo hominum cognitio & vindicta est.* Wherein, as is before said, either the Prince is chiefe doer, & his authority proceeded to the execution of the same; as when by sufferance or priviledge the Prelats intromit themselves therein; wherefore in that which is derived from the Prince at the begining, why should any obstacle or scruple be to call him Head from whom that is derived?

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Such things as although they be amongst men, yet they be indeed *Divina, quoniam supra nos sunt nihil ad nos.* — And being called Head of all we be not in deed nor in name to him that would sincerely understand it head of such things being not spirituall as they be not temporall, and yet to those words spoken of us *adevisandam illam calumniam*, there is added *quantum per legem Christi licet*; for interpretation of which Parenthesis your similitude added of *homo immortalis est quantum per naturam legem licet*, is nothing like; for *natura lex* is not immortality, as is *lex Christi* to superiority: for *lex natura* ne speaketh, ne can mean of any immortality at all, considering that the law of Nature ordaineth mortality in all things; but Christs law speaketh of superiority, admitteth superiority, sheweth also and declareth *obediendum esse Principibus*, as yee do alledge. Wherefore if the law of God permitteth superiority, and commandeth obedience: to examine and measure *modum obedientie & superioritatis*, there can to no other thing so good a relation be made. For as yee understand the Scripture, though it say nay to part, it saith not nay to the whole, whereas nature denieth utterly all immortality; and so though in speaking of immortality of man it were superfluous to say *quantum per naturam legem licet*; yet is not so speaking *de superioritate & modo Principatus*, referring the certain limits to the law of Christ, *ad cuius normam quicquid quadrat planum & rectum est, quicquid non quadrat prævum & iniquum*. And as touching the doubt and difficulty you make to give a single answer yea or no, for that the question propounded containeth two things, whereof the one is true th'other false, as yee say, meaning as yee write, that in *temporalibus* we be *Caput*, and in *spiritualibus* we be not. It seemeth that neither your example agreeth in similitude with that yee bring it in for, nor is there in learning or common speech used the scrupulosity in answers yee write of. Truth it is, that the question in plain words containeth two parts expressly, whereof the one is true, th'other false; our yea or nay cannot be answered: for there should appear a manifest lye, which Gods law detesteth, and naturally is abhorred: as if it should be asked Us, if We were King of England and of Denmark, our nay or yea should not suffice: But it is farre otherwise both in matters of Learning and common speech, where the words in the question may by divers interpretations or relations contain two things, and yet in expression contain but one: As if a man should ask Us, *An filius & pater unum sunt?* We would not doubt to answer and say, Yea, as the Scripture saith, for it is truly answered, and to make a lye is but Sophistication, drawing the word *unum* to person, wherein it is a lye. If one were asked the question, Whether the man and wife were one, he might boldly and truly say, Yea, and yet it is *distinctione*

Elione corporum naturalium a lie, and to the question, *Utrum Ecclesiam constet ex bonis & malis*; Yea, and yet as yee define *Ecclesiam* it it is a lie. The reason of diversity is this, for that it is not supposed men would abuse words, but apply them to signifie truth, and not to signifie a lie, wherein the *Arrians* offending, took occasion of heresies.

For that which is in Scripture written is a most certain truth; and as it is there written, so and no otherwise would Christ have answered, if the question had been asked *An Pater esset maior illo?* he would have said yea, as it is written. And if the *Arrians* would have taken for a truth that of him that is truth, and speaketh truth, and from whom proceedeth but truth, they would have brought a distinction with them to set forth truly, and not disprove that it was truly written, by sophistification of the word. When S. James wrote, *Fides sine operibus mortua est*, he wrote truth; and so did S. Paul, *Quod fides justificat absque operibus legis*: which it could not do, if it were *mortua*. Either of these made a single asseveration of a sentence, by interpretation containing two; trusting that the Reader would *pio animo* so understand them, as their sayings might, as they do indeed, agree with truth. It is never to be thought men will willingly & without shame lye; And therefore the sense, if any may be gathered true, or like to be true, is to be taken, and not that which is a lye. And when we write to the Pope *Sanctissimo*, we mean not holier then S. Peter, though it sound so; and he that in our Letters should object that, should be thought ridiculous. He that should say he rode beyond the sea, were not conveniently interrupted in his tale by him that would object sailing upon the sea, where he could not ride at all. And rather then men would note a lye when they know what is meant, they will sooner by allegory or methaphor draw the word to the truth, then by cavillation of the word note a lye. Hath not the Pope been called *Caput Ecclesie*? and who hath put any addition unto it? Have not men said that the Pope may dispence *cum Jure divino*, and yet in a part *Juris divini*, viz. *moralis & naturalis*, the same men would say he might not dispence: wherefore if in all other matters it was never thought inconvenient to speak absolutely the truth without distinction, why should there be more scruple in our case? The truth cannot be changed by words: that we be, as Gods law suffereth us to be, whereunto we do and must conform our selves. And if ye understand, as ye ought to understand *Temporalibus* for the passing over this life in quietness, ye at last descend to agree to that which in the former part of your Letters you intend to impugn; and sticking to that, it were most improperly spoken to say, We be *illius Ecclesie Caput in temporalibus*, which hath not *temporalia*.

*Queen Anne of Bullen to King Henry from the Tower,
May 6. 1536.*

SIR,

YOUR Graces displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write or what to excuse I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so to obtain your favour) by such a one whom you know to be my ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message, then I rightly conceived your meaning: And if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command; but let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought ever proceeded: And to speak a truth, never Prince had wife more loyal in all duty and in all true affection, then you have ever found in *Anne Bullen*: with which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God and your Graces pleasure had so been pleased. Neither did I at any time forget my self in my exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I always look'd for such an alteration as now I find, the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation then your Graces fancie, the least alteration whereof I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancie to some other subject.

You have chosen me from a low estate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you find me worthy of such honour, Good your Grace let not any light fancie or bad counsel of my Enemies withdraw your Princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the Infant-Princess your daughter. Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and Judges: yea let me receive an open Trial, for my truths shall fear no open shames: then shall you see either my innocencie cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure; and my offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithfull wife,

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Q. Eliz. to the Lady Norris.

but to follow your affection already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some while since have pointed to, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of a desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin herein, and likewise my enemies the instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict accompt for your unprincipely and cruel usage of me at his general Judgment-seat, where both you and my self must both shortly appear, and in whose iust judgment I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, my innocencie shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

My last and onely request shall be, That my self may bear the burden of your Graces displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor Gentlemen who as I understand are in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of *Anne Bullen* have been pleasing in your ears, let me obtain this last request, and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with my earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions.

*From my dolefull prison in the Tower,
this sixth of May.*

Your most loyal and faithfull wife,

ANNE BULLEN.

*Queen Elizabeths Letter to the Lady Norris upon
the death of her Son.*

Although we have deferred long to represent unto you our grieved thoughts, because we liked full well to yield you the first reflections of our misfortunes, whom we have always sought to cherish and comfort; yet knowing now that necessity must bring it to your ears, and nature consequently must move many passionate affections in your heart, we have resolved no longer to smother either our care for your sorrow, or the sympathy of our grief for his death; wherein if society in sorrowing work diminution, we do assure you by this true messenger of our mind,

mind, that Nature can have stirred no more dolorous affections in you as a mother, for a dear son, then the gratefulness and memory of his services past hath wrought in Us his Sovereign, apprehension of the mis of so worthy a servant. But now that natures common work is done, and he that was born to die hath paid his tribute; let that Christian discretion stay the flux of your immoderate grieving, which hath instructed you both by example and knowledge, that nothing of this kind hath happened but by Gods providence; and that these lines from your loving and gracious Sovereign, serve to assure you, that there shal ever appear the lively characters of you and yours that are left, in our valuing rightly all their faithfull and honest endeavours. More we will not write of this subject, but have dispatched this Gentleman to visit both your Lord, and condole with you in the true sense of your love, and to pray you, that the world may see, that what time cureth in weak minds, that discretion and moderation may help in you in this accident, where there is so opportune occasion to demonstrate true patience and true moderation.

Thomas Duke of Norfolk to Queen Elizabeth.

O Most dear and dread Sovereign and Lady Queen, and most gracious Mistres, when I consider with my self how far I have transgressed my duty to your most gracious Majesty, I dare not now presume to look up or hope for your gracious favour, I confesse my self so far unworthy thereof: but again, when I look into your Highness manifold mercifull and most pitifull nature, of which so many have so abundantly tasted of since your Majesties most prosperous reign, I am emboldened with penitent and sorrowfull heart, to make my trembling hand to offer unto your Highness my most ruful & lowly submission, having none other means to ease my oppressed mind. I am for my sins and disobedience to ask pardon, that is, of Almighty God, and of your most excellent Majesty: the first I have done to Almighty God, and so I by the grace of him will continue with a new heart and full mind of amendment, not doubting but asking mercy, to receive it, according to the Scripture, he that knocketh at the door shall have it opened unto him. Now do I prostrate my self at your Highness most gracious feet, my poor children, and all that I have, hoping more in your Majesties most gracious clemency, then in any of mine unadvised deserts; I seek to excuse my self no way, but wholly submit my self to what shall please your most mercifull heart like a most gracious Queen to a man that hath been astray, who finding

12. *Solyman the great Turks defiance to Maximilian, &c.*

mercy hath afterwards with bad service oftentimes redoubled his former folly. O most noble Queen, it is in your most gracious power to make of my wretched mould what it pleaseth you, my faith and religion reserved to my Saviour, my body being already to your Highness subject, and imprisoned for my most just desert, I dedicate my mind and heart to be hereafter as it shall please your Majesty to direct it; I do not seek favour at your Majesties hands in respect of my former good service, I confess undutifulness hath now blotted the same out, neither dare I remember which heretofore was my greatest comfort, because I deserve not that honor which was that it hath pleased your Highness to account me indeed your unworthy kinsman. Wo wretch that day when I entred into that matter which hath made such alteration of your Majesties most gracious favour unto me, and hath heaped upon my self these intolerable troubles. O unworthy that I am, that in all the days of my life counting upon nothing but a quiet life, I take God to witness, whatsoever some have judged the contrary of me, I was so unhappy to give ear to that which hath done, and ever was like to bring me to the contrary.

A Defiance sent by the Grand Seignieur to Maximilian the second.

BY the sufferance of the great God, We *Solyman*, God in earth, great and high Emperour of all the world, Patron and Distributer of all Christians, We send and declare unto thee *Maximilian*, all wrath and ill fortune and infidelity, and to all thy Princes, subjects and helpers, We give it known unto thee, That We by the sufferance of the great God, named the Perpetuall and Universall God in earth, most mighty Emperour, Soldan in *Babylon*, Lord of *Armenia*, the most mightiest in *Perspolis* and *Numidia*, the great helper of God, Prince from the Rode of *Barbary* unto the mountains of *Achaia*, King of Kings from the Meridian to the Septentrion of the earth, from the rising place of the Sun to the setting of it, the first and chiefest, placed in the Paradise of *Mahomet*, the destroyer of all Christendom, and of all Christians, and that do profess Christianity, the keeper and defender of the Sepulcher of thy God crucified, the onely victorious and triumphant Lord of all the world, and of all Circuits and Provinces thereof: Thou *Maximilian*, which writest thy selfe King of our Kingdom of *Hungary*, which is under our Crown and obeysance, We will visit thee for that cause, and also perswade thee that with our strength and force

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The Queens Commission to the Deputy of Ireland. 13

of thirteen Kingdoms with might and strength, to the number of one hundred thousand as well Horsemen as Footmen prepared for war, with all the power and strength of Turkish munition, and with such power as thou nor none of thy servants have seen, heard, or had knowledge of, even before thy chief Citie *Vienna*, and the Countrey thereabouts: We *Solyman*, God on earth, against thee with all thy assistants and helpers, with our Warlike strength, do pronounce & protest your uttermost destruction and depopulation, as we can by all means possible devise it. And this we will signifie unto thee, to the which thou and thy miserable people may prepare your selves. With us it is determined, with our men appointed, thee and all thy *German* Kingdoms and Provinces altogether to spoyle: This misery we have consented unto against thee and thy Princes, and have thou no doubt but we will come. Dated in the City of *Constantinople*, out of the which we did expulse your predecessors, their wives, children and friends, and made them most miserable slaves and captives, the year of our reign fourty seven.

Sir John Perrots Commission for Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Elizabeta Dei gratia &c. omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos certis urgentibus causis & considerationibus nos specialiter movendis, de provida circumspectione & industria predilecti & fidelis nobis Johannis Perrot militis. plenius confidentes de advisamento Concilii nostri assignavimus, fecimus, ordinavimus, constituimus & deputavimus, & per presentes assignavimus, &c. eundem Johannem Perrot militem. Deputat. nostrum Generalem Regni nostri Hibernie, habend. tenend. gaudend. exercend. & occupand. officium predictum. eidem Johanni Perrot militi. durante beneplacito nostro dantes & concedentes eidem Deputat. nostro Generali plenam tenere presentium potestatem ad pacem nostram ac ad leges & consuetudines regni nostri predicti. custodiend. & custodiri faciend. & ad omnes & singulas leges nostras, &c.

The whole Contents of the Commission for the Lord Deputy.

TO conserve the peace, to punish offenders, to make Orders and Proclamations, to receive offenders to grace, to give pardons and impose fines, to levy forces, to fight and make peace, to dispose Rebels lands.

lands, to pardon all treasons saving touching the Queens person, and counterfeiting of coyn; to give offices, saving the Chancellor, Treasurer, two chief Justices, chief Baron and Master of the Rolls; to dispose of Ecclesiasticall livings, except Archbishops and Bishops; to receive homage and the oath, to make provision for his household according to the ancient custome; to assemble the Parliament with her Majesties privy, to receive the account of Officers, saving the Treasurers, to exercise martiall law.

*The Queens Warrant to the Lords, &c. of Ireland for
ministring the Oath, and delivery of the Sword
to him, 31 Jan. 1583.*

Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty & welbeloved, and trusty and right welbeloved, we greet you wel: Whereas upon the departure from thence of our right trusty and welbeloved the Lord *Gray of Wilton*, late our Deputy there, we thought it meet for our government there, to appoint you joyntly to have the place of our Justices, until such time as we should resolve to send another thither to be our Deputy there; We let you wit, that meaning now no longer to burthen you with such a charge; wherein you have, according to the trust imposed in you, very wisely behaved your selves, greatly to our contentation, we have chosen and appointed our right trusty and welbeloved Sir *Jo. Perrot* Knight, this bearer, to be our Deputy of that our said Realm, & that for that purpose to send him presently thither: Wherefore our will and pleasure is, and by vertue of these our Letters we authorize you, upon the view of our letters Patents made and delivered unto him in that behalf, both to minister unto him the oath accustomed to be given unto the Deputy there, & also to deliver unto him the Sword, as heretofore hath been used. And further, that you communicate unto him amply the present estate of that our Realm, and of all our affairs there for his better instruction, at his entrance into that Government, and the advancement of our service. And these our Letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given under our Signet, &c. the last of January 1583. the 26 year of our reign.

Another

Another for his Entertainment there.

TRufty and welbeloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have now appointed our right trusty and welbeloved Sir *John Perrot* Knight to be our Deputy in that our Realm of *Ireland*, for which Office allowance aswell of dyets as of entertainments for certain Horsmen is to be given him : These be therefore to let you wit, that we allow unto him for his ordinary dyet one hundred pounds sterling, according to the last Establishment in *March* 1589. and for his Retinue fifty Horsmen and fifty Footmen, with such wages for every Horsman and Footman and for their Officers, as was allowed to Sir *William Fitzwilliams* and Sir *Henry Sydney* Knights, in the late times of their Governments in that Realm. After which rates as well for his own dyet, as for the said fifty Horsmen and fifty Footmen, and for their Officers, We will and command you to make payment to him during his employment and service in that place, from the date of our Letters-Patents authorising him to that government; And these our Letters shall be sufficient Warrant as well to you as to any Treasurer or Vice-treasurer there for the time being, and to your and their Substitutes, as also to the Auditor or his Deputies, and to all other Commissioners to be appointed over your Accompts, to pass and allow the same payments to you accordingly. Given &c. the fourth of *April* 1583. in the 26. year of our Reign of *England*, &c.

The Queens Instructions to him.

YOU shall see immediately upon your arrival into that Realm assembled our Councel there, and confer with them what course of Government upon due consideration had of the present estate of the said Realm may be held, so as Justice may take place, our Charges be lessened, our Revenues increased, and our Subjects there not oppressed.

You shall also consider what Forces are meet to be continued in pay, and how the rest chargeable unto us and burthensom unto the Country may be discharged; and also how the Horsmen and Footmen serving there

there may be reduced to their old pay, which by reason of the general Rebellion in that Realm (the Country being wasted) we were driven to increase: And therefore we see no reason but the Band residing in those Countries that are not wasted may live well enough of the old pay, especially being victualled by us; and for the ease and diminishing of our charges in that behalf, We do think it meet that you should treat with those Countries that are not wasted, as well in *Munster* or elsewhere in that Realm, to see if you can draw them with good contentment to contribute something towards the finding of that Garrison, at *Carberrie* heretofore hath done.

And for that our Subjects in that Realm, &c.

To advise of the inhabiting of *Munster*, the attainted Lands to be let out at easie rents. Survey, certifie what States, Statute of *Usw.* 5. Port-Corn. 6. Th' attainted Lands to be bestowed in reward upon Servitors. 7. Younger Brothers of Noblemen, Diminish Pensioners. 9. Review former Instructions. 10 ——— 11. Renewing of forfeited Leases for three years: Beef, Port-Corn, Remittal of Arreages. 12. Reversion of Lands to the Governours. 13. Lands of the attainted to be appointed to house-keeping. 14. Reservation of Timber-woods. 15. Residence of Officers. 16. Report to the State outrages of disloyal Subjects. 17. Profits of Customs, Escheats, &c. 19. Establishment for *Connaught*. 20. President for *Munster*, allowance begin at *May*, Transportation. 21. Councillors, B. of *Meath*, *John Norris*, *Richard Bingham*, *Tho. Strange*. 22. Refer the choice of a person to the Chancellor and others. 23. Certificate of the last Treasurers Receipts and Expences.

Every one of these Articles doth contain half a side of Paper, and therefore I have rather thought fit to abbreviate them then to transcribe them at large, the whole Contents being contained in this Abbreviation.

sir John Perrot to the Lords of the Councel. Jan. 31. 1585.

May it please your good Lordships,

Although I and this Councel have by our joynt-Letters truly declared unto you the dutifull state of things here, and the causes both foraign and domestical whereupon we gather it; and withall have shewed our extreme wants, and what supplies are desired: Yet understanding

standing thence, but not from your Lordships, (for I have had no kind of advertisements, answer, or resolution from the same these twelve moneths) that there is a great preparation made by the Spanish King against the Realm, and that your Lordships have intelligence thereof; I cannot but as one whose chief charge and care it is, importune your Lordships to cast your eye more carefully this way, humbly praying you to consider what case we are in to try with a most mighty Prince, whether this Realm shall be still her Majesties or his, if there be any such matters (as your Lordships know best) then I beseech your Lordships to think whether it be more safety to say that we have sent provision to encounter the danger, or else you will send when perhaps it will be too late. And withall for mine own discharge, if I shall tarry, and have nothing wherewith: I have but a life to yield for her Majesty and my Country; for the loss thereof I grieve not, but rather for the harm that through defects I fear may come to her Majesty and the State, and the shame I shall leave behind me. This foreign preparation, if there be any such thing, is likely to be spent against *Munster*, to seise upon and to spoil the Cities and Towns of the same, which in truth are very weak. If I shall go thither, what for the late wars, and this last bad season, there is not so much to be had there as will maintain that one Band of 200. that is under *Mr. Thomas Norris* the Vice-President there, but that I am enforced to shift them from Town to Town, who by reason of their extreme penury do receive them with great grief and grudge. And though I had men sufficient to encounter the Enemy that should come, yet for want of victuals I should be driven to abandon the place with danger and shame, where they that are to come over are like to bring their provision with them, and to settle it in some Town that they will soon seise upon for that purpose: whereof what may ensue amongst this unconstant people naturally delighting in change, your Lordships may soon gather. Besides this that I have said of the bare estate of *Munster*, where there is not so much to be had as will serve for mine own family, or yet to feed my horses till grass grow, I refer you to understand not only the same more fully, but also the great wants of the rest of the Realm by the declaration here inclosed, which as *Beverley* the Victualler maketh it, so I know it to be true. And therefore I most humbly beseech your Lordships to send speedy order, that such a Staple of victuals may be provided and be sent over, as your Lordships shall think requisite to serve as well for the numbers here already, as also for those that are to be sent over to encounter such an accident as may fall out. And herein I would wish your Lordships to consider the winds and weather, how untowardly they have framed this year: for as some have lain at *Chester*

nine weeks to come over hither, so hath there been no passage since this six weeks. Moreover if there be such purposes in hand, it were good some shipping were dispatcht for the guard of the Coasts. And to all these and other difficulties, may I with your Lordships favour adde one more to be considered of, How weakly I am seconded, if need fall out by those forein attempts, whereof I would say little for any other cause: The Marshal is old, and not able either to ride or go; the Master of the Ordnance is both absent, and old, and I wish there were a more sufficient man in his place: The Lord President and Sir *William Stanley*, who are men of good conduct, are drawn away: Sir *H. Harrington*, Mr. *Edward Barkley*, and the Senescal *Dantry* are suffered to remain still there; but I humbly pray they may be sped away, together with all other that are Servitors by any manner of pay there. And so having herein discharged my duty, I humbly end. From the Castle of *Dublin*, the last of *January* 1585.

Your Lordships most humble at commandment,

JOHN PERROT.

Earl of Desmond to the Earl of Ormond, June 5. 1583,

My Lord,

Great is my grief when I think how heavily her Majesty is bent to disavour me; and howbeit I carry the name of an undutifull Subject, yet God knoweth that my heart and mind are always most lowly inclined to serve my most loving Prince, so it may please her Highness to remove her heavy displeasure from me. As I may not condemn my self of disloyalty to her Majesty, so cannot I excuse my faults, but must confesse that I have incurred her Majesties indignation; yet when the cause and means which were found and devised to make me commit folly shall be known to her Highness, I rest in an assured hope that her most gracious Majesty will both think of me as my heart deserveth, and also of those that wrung me into undutifulness, as their cunning device meriteth. From my heart I am sorry that folly, bad counsels, sleights, or any other thing hath made me to forget my duty: And therefore I am most desirous to get conference with your Lordship, to the end I may open and declare to you how tyrannously I was used, humbly craving that you will vouchsafe to appoint some time and place where and when

I may attend your Honour, and then I doubt not to make it appear how dutifull a mind I carry, how faithfully I have at mine own charge served her Majesty before I was proclaimed, how sorrowfull I am for my offences, and how faithfully I am affected ever hereafter to serve her Majesty. And so I commit your Lordship to God, the 5. of June 1583.
Subscribed

GIRALD DESMOND.

Sir Henry Wallop to the Queen, 12. Aug. 1583.

IT may please your Majesty, a rumor hath been raised not long since at *Dublin* (I know not how, nor by what particular person, but strongly confirmed since the last passage out of *England*) (neither doth your service now in hand upon this Northern border, suffer me to examine it) that your Majesty conceived some hard opinion of me, from which your Highness is not yet removed; but what the offence is, or how conceived, is neither by the reporters published, nor secretly revealed unto me: And like as it is easie to judge what effects this may work in the service of your Majesty, or to a man in publick office, as I am, in such a government as this is, where the obedience for the most is constrained, and all reputation with the people either growing or diminishing as your Majesty graceth or disgraceth your Officers; so how much this quiet burthen over-presseth my most devoted and dutifull mind towards your Majesty, I feel to my exceeding grief and discomfort. In examining my self in what root this your judgment should spring, I confesse Madam, I have viewed in my self many imperfections, some in nature, others perhaps for lack of ability and sufficiency to be a cooperator or an assistant in so great and so ticklish a government & charge, into which not ambition in me, but your Majesties wil & commandment hath intruded me. But in all that my memory can hitherto present unto me, I find my loyalty in your service, and my sincerity in imploying your Majesties treasure according to your intent, so unspotted and direct, as I cannot but comfort my self in opposing my innocency to the envy of the informer, or to any other his hard construction whatsoever: yet since in generall consideration I cannot feel such a particular error, as might settle in your Majesties grave judgement, an offence meriting your disfavour, I am most humbly to beseech your Majesty, that by knowing my fault I may either purge my self by a just deniall, or by confessing it crave pardon of your Highness, and reform my self. If therefore it shall stand with your Majesties good pleasure

Earle of Essex to Mr. Davison.

sure to declare to my honorable good friend Mr. Secretary *Walsingham*, commanding him to charge me with it, I will thereupon simply answer, even as before the Lord God, without concealing any matter of truth any wise, for mine own defence. This grace the sooner I shall obtain, the apter I shall be found for your other services, from which I find my self distracted, because the end of my travels is none other but to purchase that grace and favour which I may now fear to be alienated from me till my cause be better explained. And so I humbly end, praying the Lord to bleis you with a long and prosperous reign.

At your town of Dundalk,
August 11. 1583.

*Your Majesties most humble
 & servant and subject,*

HENRY WALLOP.

The Earle of Essex to Mr. Davison.

IF this Letter do not deliver you my very affectionate wishes, and assure you that I am both carefull to deserve well, and covetous to hear wel of you, it doth not discharge the trust that I have committed unto it. My love to your worthy Father, my expectation that you will truly inherit his vertues, and the proof that I have seen of your well spending your time abroad, are three strong bands to tie my affection unto you; to which when I see added your kindness to my self, my reason tells my heart, it cannot value you, or affect you too much: you have laid so good a foundation of framing your self, as if now you do not perfect the work, th'expectation you have raised will be your greatest adversity: slack not your industry in thinking you have taken great pains already, *Nusquam enim nec opera sine emolumento, nec emolumentum sine impensa opera est: Labor voluptasq; dissimilia natura, societate quadam naturali inter se conjuncta sunt.* Nor think your self at any time so rich in knowledge or reputation, as you may spend on the stock: For as the way to vertue is steep and craggy, so the descent from it is headlong. It is said of our bodies, that they do *lente auferere & cito extinguuntur*, it may be as properly said of our minds. Let your vertuous Father, who in the middelt of his troubles and discomforts, hath brought you by his care and charge to what you are now in, you receive perfect comfort & contentment; Learn *virtutem ab illo, fortunam ab aliis.* I write not this as suspecting you need be admonished, or as finding my self able to direct;

Earle of Essex to Sec. Davison.

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rect; but as he that when he was writing, took the plainest and naturallest stile of a friend truly affected to you: Receive it therefore I pray you as a pledge of more love then I can now shew you. And so desiring nothing more then to hear often from you, I wish you all happiness, and rest,

White-hall, Jan. 8.

Your affectionate and assured friend,

R. ESSEX.

Earle of Essex to Secretary Davison.

SIR,

AS I have ever loved you, so now taking leave of my good friends, I cannot forget you of whose love I desire to be ever assured, and whom I would desire to satisfie in all things that I shall do. If you be troubled with the suddenness of my unlooked for journey, let my resolute purpose to perform it, which could not be without secrecie, excuse me: if you call it rashness, I wil better allow it to be heresie then error; for many months ago it was resolved: if you doubt of the successe or event thereof, I say, that the same God who hath given me a mind to undertake, may according to his good pleasure make me in it, or it with me to prosper or die, as it shall seem best unto him. And so purposing that you shall see me return happy, or never, I take my leave a few days before my departure. Let me be commended to your good selfe, and such other of my good friends, as in my absence you find I am beholding to, especially to Sir Drew Drury, and Sir Edward Waterhouse.

Your assured friend,

R. ESSEX.

Earle

*Earle of Essex to Secretary Davison, July 11. 1589.**S I R,*

AS at my departure, so upon my return, I must needs salute you, as one whom then, and now, and ever, I must love very much. I would gladly see you, but I am tied here a while, when I may have occasion to shew my love to you, I will do more then I now promise. In the mean time wishing you that happines which men in this world ought to seek, I take my leave

*At the Court this 11. of
July 1589.*

*Your assured Friend**R. ESSEX.**Again to Secretary Davison.**S I R,*

I Had speech with her Majesty yesternight after my departure from you, and I find that the success of my speech (although I hoped for good) yet did much over-run my expectation. To repeat many speeches and by-matters, as of my acquaintance with you, and such like, it will be fitter for such a time when I shall have conference with you. But in effect, our end was thus: I made her Majesty see, what in your health, in your fortune, and in your reputation with the world you had suffered since the time that it was her pleasure to comit you; I told her how many friends and well-wishers the world did afford you, and how for the most part, throughout the whole Realm her best subjects did wish that she would do her self the honour to repair for you, and restore to you that state which she had overthrown; your humble suffering of these harms, and reverend regard to her Majesty, must needs move a Princess so noble and so just, to do you right; and more I had said, if my gift of speech had been any way comparable to my love. Her Majesty seeing her judgment opened by the story of her own actions, shewed a very feeling compassion of you, she gave you many praises, and among the rest, that which she seemed to please her self in, was, that you were a man of her own choyce. In truth she was so well pleased with those things that she spake

spake and heard of you, as I dare (if of things future there be any assurance) promise to my self that your peace will be made to your own content, and the desire of your friends, I mean in her favour and your own fortune, to a better estate then, or at least the same you had, which with all my power I wil employ my self to effect. And so in hast I commit you to God.

Your friend most assured,

R. ESSEX.

Earle of Essex to King James concerning Secretary Davison. April 18. 1587.

Most excellent King, for him that is already bound for many favours, a title of thankfulness is much fitter then the humour of suing; but so it falls out, that he which to his own advantage would have sought nothing in your favour, but your favour it self, doth now for another become an humble petitioner to your Majesty: your Majesty cannot be such a stranger to the affairs of this Countrey, but as you know what actions are done in this place, so you underitand the minds of the men by whom they are done. Therefore I doubt not, but the man for whom I speak, is somewhat known to your Majesty, and being known, I presume of greater favour, Mr. Secretary Davison fallen into her Majesties displeasure and disgrace; beloved of the best and most religious of this land, doth stand as barred from any preferment or restoring in his place, except out of the honour and nobleness of your own Royall heart, your Majesty will undertake his cause. To leave the nature of his fault to your Majesties best judgement, and report of your own servant, and to speak of the man, I must say truly, that his sufficiency in Councell, and matters of State, is such, as the Queen her selfe confesseth, in her Kingdom she hath not such another; his vertue, religion and worth in all degrees is of the world taken to be so great, as no man in his good fortune hath had more generall love then this Gentleman in his disgrace: And if to a man so worthy in himself, and so esteemed of all men, my words might avail any thing, I would assure your Majesty would get great honour, and great love, not onely here amongst us, but in all places of Christendom where this Gentleman is any thing known, if you should now be the author of his restoring to his place, which in effect he now is, but that as a man not acceptable to her Majesty,

My, he doth forbear to attend. I do in all humbleness commend this cause to your Majesty, having the warrant of a good conscience, that I know to be both honorable and honest; and your Majesty to the blessed protection of that mighty God, to whom will pray for your Majesties happy and prosperous estate, He that will do your Majesty all humble service,

Greenwich April 18.

R. ESSEX.

Earl of Essex to Mr. Secretary Davison.

SIR,

I Have as I could, taken my opportunity since I saw you, to perform as much as I promised you; and though in all I have been able to effect nothing, yet even now I have had better leisure to solicit the Queen then in this stormy time I did hope for. My beginning was, as being amongst others intreated to move her in your behalf: my course was to lay open your sufferings and your patience; in them you had felt poverty, restraint and disgrace, and yet you shewed nothing but faith and humility; faith, as being never wearied nor discouraged to do her service; humbleness, as content to forget all the burthens that had been laid upon you, and to serve her Majesty with as frank and willing a heart as they that have received greatest grace from her. To this I received no answer but in generall terms, that her honour was much touched, your presumption had been intolerable, and that she could not let it slip out of her mind. When I urged your access, she denied it, but so as I had no cause to be afraid to speak again. When I offered in them both to reply, she fell into other discourse, and so we parted. So all that I have done you know; what I shall do ye shall prescribe. If you hear any mans else — I pray you let me know, for so I shall perceive whether she will open her heart more to me then them, which being known I may deal accordingly. And so I commit you to God.

Windsor, Octob. 2.

Your most assured friend,

R. ESSEX.

Again

*Again to Mr. Secretary Davison, upon the death of
Mr. Secretary Walsingham.*

SIR,

Vpon this unhappy accident, I have tryed to the bottom what the Queen will do for you, and what the credit of your Solicitor is worth. I urged not the comparison between you and any other: But in my duty to her, and zeal to her service, I did assure her that she had not any other in *England* that would for these three or four years know how to settle himself to support so great a burthen. She gave me leave to speak, heard me with patience, confessed with me that none was so sufficient, and could not deny but that which she lays to your charge was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, or any respect of your own, but meerly for her safety both of state and person. In the end she absolutely denied to let you enjoy that place, and willed me to rest satisfied, for she was resolved. Thus much I write to let you know, I am more honest to my friends, then happy in their cases. What you will have me do for your suit, I will as far as my credit is any thing worth. I have told most of the Councel of my manner of dealing with the Queen; my Lord Chamberlain tells me he hath dealt for you also, and they all say they wish as I do; but in this world that is enough. I will commit you to God for this time, and rest

Your constant and true friend,

R. ESSEX.

Earl of Essex to the Queen.

MY dutiful affections to your Majesty always overweighed all other worldly respects; that seeking in all particulars to manifest my truth, I have maimed my estate in general, as I dare in the heat of my thoughts compare with the greatest that ever vowed for faithful service, so is there not the meanest that hath overslipped me, I will not say in recompence, but in some gracious estate of service. Thus whilst my faith

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Earl of Essex to the Queen.

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wrestleth with my fortune, the one winns breath to beat th' other down. Though I have no hope to repair the ruines of my oversight, yet I cannot but presume your Majesty will suffer me to preserve them from blowing up; and what youth and forward belief hath undermined in mine estate, providence by a retired life may underlay. In which discontinuance from Court there shall be added (if any thing be added) increase of loyalty: Nor so solitary shall be my course, as it shall seem to proceed of discontentment, but of necessity; and all actions both with living and my life so forward, as though some may have overrun me in fortunes, none shall in duty.

Next my allegiance to your Majesty, which shall be held most sacred and inviolable, the report of mine Honour challengeth chief interest; which that I may preserve in my wonted state, reason draws me to stay my self slipping from falling. That of late (by what secret and venomous blow I know not) my faith hath received some wounds, your Majesties wonted grace withdrawn assures me: But truth and my patience in this case were one with me, and time in your Princely thoughts did wear it out from me. Let time be Judge; I will leave you with as great lothness as I were to lose what I love best. But your favour failing, in which I have placed all my hopes, and my self less graced after seven years then when I had served but seven dayes, may be a reason to excuse, if there were no other reason. These things pressed out of a distressed mind, and offered in all humility; I hope it shall not be offensive if I choose this wearisom course, rather to be retired then tired. If any of envy take advantage of absence, seeking by cunning to draw me into suspicion of discontentment, my conscience is settled in your never erring Judgment, that if he come with *Esau's* hands and *Jacob's* voice, your Highness will censure it a wrought malice under such simplicity. It is true that grief cannot speak; but this grief hath made me write, lest when I leave you I should so far forsake my self as to leave this unsaid. To your gracious acceptance I commit it, and with all humble and reverent thoughts that may be, rest ever to be commanded to die at your Majesties feet,

RO. ESSEX.

Again to the Queen.

FROM a mind delighting in sorrow, from spirits wasted with passion, from a heart torne in pieces with care, grief and travel, from a man
that

that hateth himself and all things that keepeth him alive, what service can your Majesty expect, since your service past deserves no more then banishment or prescription in the cursed't of all other Countries? Nay, nay, it is your Rebels pride and success that must give me leave to ransom my life out of this hatefull prison of my loathed body: which if it happen so, your Majesty shall have no cause to mislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you.

Your Majesties exiled Servant,

RO. ESSEX.

Sir Thomas Egerton Lord Chancellor to the Earl of Essex.

My very good Lord,

IT is often seen, that he that stands by seeth more then he that playeth the game; and for the most part every one in his own cause standeth in his own light, and seeth not so cleerly as he should. Your Lordship hath dealt in other mens causes, and in great and weighty affairs with great wisdom and judgment; now your own is in hand, you are not to contemn or refuse the advice of any that love you, how simple soever. In this order I rank my self among others that love you, none more simple, and none that love you with more true and honest affection; which shall plead my excuse, if you shall either mistake or mistrust my words or meaning: but in your Lordships honorable wisdom I neither doubt nor suspect the one nor the other. I will not presume to advise you, but shoot my bolt and tell you what I think. The beginning and long continuance of this so unseasonable discontentment you have seen and proved, by which you aim at the end: If you hold still this course, which hitherto you find to be worse and worse, (and the longer you go, the further you go out of the way) there is little hope or likelihood the end will be better: You are not yet gone so far, but that you may well return: The return is safe, but the progress is dangerous and desperate in this course you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for themselves: Your friends you leave to scorn and contempt, you forsake your self and overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation: You give that comfort and courage to the foreign enemies, as greater they cannot have;

for what can be more welcome and pleasing news then to hear that her Majesty and the Realm are maimed of so worthy a Member, who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and daunted them? You forsake your Country, when it hath most need of your Councel and aid: And lastly you fail in your indissoluble duty which you owe unto your most gracious Sovereign, a duty imposed upon you not by nature and policie only, but by the religious and sacred bond wherein the divine Majesty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Christianity obliged you.

For the four first, your constant resolution may perhaps move you to esteem them as light; but being well weighed, they are not light, nor lightly to be regarded. And for the four last, it may be that the cleerness of your own conscience may seem to content your self, but that is not enough; for these duties stand not only in contemplation or inward meditation, and cannot be performed but by external actions, and where that faileth, the substance also faileth. This being your present state and condition, what is to be done? what is the remedy, my good Lord? I lack judgment and wisdom to advise you, but I will never want an honest true heart to wish you well; nor being warranted by a good conscience, will fear to speak that I think. I have begun plainly, be not offended if I proceed so. *Bene cedit qui cedit tempori*: and *Seneca* saith, *Cedendum est fortune*. The medicine and remedy is not to contend and strive, but humbly to yield & submit. Have you given cause, and yet take a scandal unto you? then all you can be is too little to make satisfaction. Is cause of scandal given unto you, yet policie, duty and religion enforce you to sue, yield and submit to our Sovereign, between whom and you there can be no equal proportion of duty, where God requires it as a principal duty and care to himself, and when it is evident that great good may ensue of it to your friends, your self, your Country, and your Sovereign, and extreme harm by the contrary. There can be no dishonour to yield; but in denying, dishonour and impiety. The difficulty (my good Lord) is to conquer your self, which is the height of true valour and fortitude, whereunto all your honorable actions have tended. Do it in this, and God will be pleased, her Majesty (no doubt) well satisfied, your Country will take good, and your Friends comfort by it; and your self (I mention you last, for that of all these you esteem yourself least) shall receive honour; and your Enemies (if you have any) shall be disappointed of their bitter sweet hope.

I have delivered what I think simply and plainly, I leave you to determine according to your own wisdom: if I have erred, it is *error amoris*, and not *amor erroris*. Construe and accept it, I beseech you, as I meant it; not as an advice, but as an opinion to be allowed or cancelled at your

your pleasure. If I might conveniently have conferred with your self in person, I would not have troubled you with so many idle blots. Whatsoever you judge of this my opinion, yet be assured my desire is to further all good means that may tend to your Lordships good. And so wishing you all happiness and honour, I cease.

*Your Lordships most ready and faithfull,
though unable poor Friend,*

Tho. Egerton, *Cnst. Sigil.*

The Earles Answer.

MY very good Lord, though there is not that man this day living whom I would sooner make Judge of any question that might concern me, then your selfe; yet you must give me leave to tell you, that in some cases I must appeal from all earthly Judges: And if in any, then surely in this, when the highest Judge on earth hath imposed upon me the heaviest punishment without triall or hearing. Since then I must either answer your Lordships Arguments, or else forsake mine own just defence, I wil force mine aking head to do me service for an hour. I must first deny my discontentment (which was forced) to be an humorous discontent; and in that it was unseasonable, or is so long continuing, your Lordship should rather condole with me then expostulate: naturall seasons are expected here below, but violent and unreasonable storms come from above: There is no tempest to the passionate indignation of a Prince, nor yet at any time so unseasonable as when it lighteth on those that might expect an harvest of their careful and painfull labours. He that is once wounded must needs feel smart till his hurt be cured, or the part hurt become senseless. But cure I expect none, her Majesties heart being obdurate; and be without sense I cannot, being of flesh and blood. But you may say, I may aim at the end: I do more then aim, for I see an end of all my fortunes, I have set an end to all my desires. In this course do I any thing for mine enemies? when I was present I found them absolute, and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, then have me attendant upon their Chariots: Or do I have my friends? When I was a Courtier I could sell them no fruit of my love, and now that I am an Hermit, they shall bear no envie for their love.

love to me. Or do I forsake my self, because I do not enjoy my self? Or do I overthrow my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of paper-walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Or do I ruinate mine honor, because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the false mark or the shadow of honor? Do I give courage or comfort to the enemies, because I neglect my self to encounter them, or because I keep my heart from business, though I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, no, I give every one of those considerations his due right, and the more I weigh them, the more I find my self justified from offending in any of them. As for the two last objections, that I forsake my Countrey when it hath most need of me, and fail in that indissoluble duty which I owe to my Sovereign: I answer, That if my Countrey had at this time any need of my publick service, her Majesty that governeth it, would not have driven me to a private life. I am tied to my Countrey by two bonds; one publick, to discharge carefully and industriously that trust which is committed to me; the other private, to sacrifice for it my life and carcasse, which hath been nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed by her Majesty: Of the other nothing can free me but death, and therefore no occasion of performance shall sooner offer it self, but I will meet it halfe way. The indissoluble duty I owe unto her Majesty, the service of an Earle and of Marshall of England, and I have been content to do her the service of a Clerk; but I can never serve her as a villain or a slave. But you say I must give way to time. So I do, for now that I see the storm come, I have put my self into harbour. *Seneca* saith, we must give way to Fortune: I know that Fortune is both blind and strong, and therefore I go as far as I can out of the way. You say the remedy is not to strive: I neither strive nor seek for remedy. But you say, I must yeild and submit: I can neither yeild my self to be guilty, nor this my imprisonment lately laid upon me, to be just; I owe so much to the Author of Truth, as I can never yeild Truth to be Falshood, nor Falshood to be Truth. Have I given cause, you ask, and yet take a scandall? No, I gave no cause to take up so much as *Fimbria* his complaint: for I did *totum telum corpore accipere*, I patiently bear and sensibly feel all that I then received when this scandall was given me. Nay, when the vilest of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion enforce me to sue? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? cannot Princes erre? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my Lord, I can never subscribe to these principles. Let *Solomons* fool laugh when he is stricken; let those that mean to make their profit of Princes, shew to have no sense of Princes injuries; let them acknowledge

an infinite absoluteness on earth, that do not believe an absolute infiniteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, I feel it; my cause is good, I know it; and whatsoever comes, all the powers on earth can never shew more strength or constancy in oppressing, then I can shew in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed upon me. Your Lordship in the beginning of your Letter makes me a Player, and your self a looker on; and me a player of my own game, so you may see more then I; but give me leave to tell you, that since you do but see, and I do suffer, I must of necessity feel more then you. I must crave your Lordships patience to give him that hath a crabbed fortune, leave to use a crooked stile. But whatsoever my stile is, there is no heart more humble, nor more affected towards your Lordship, then that of

Your Lordships poor friend,

ESSEX.

Two Letters framed, one as from Mr. Anthony Bacon to the Earl of Essex, the other as the Earls answer.

My singular good Lord,

THIS standing at a stay doth make me in my love towards your Lordship jealous lest you do somewhat, or omit somewhat that amounteth to a new error: For I suppose that of all former matters there is a full expiation; wherein for any thing which your Lordship doth, I for my part (who am remote) cannot cast or devise wherein my error should be, except in one point, which I dare not censure nor dissuade: which is, that as the Prophet saith, in this affliction you look up *ad manum percutientem*, and so make your peace with God. And yet I have heard it noted, that my Lord of *Leicester*, who could never get to be taken for a Saint, yet in the Queens disfavour waxed seeming religious. Which may be thought by some, and used by others as a case resembling yours, if men do not see, or will not see the difference between your two dispositions. But to be plain with your Lordship, my fear rather is, because I hear how some of your good and wise friends, not unpractised in the Court, and supposing themselves not to be unseen in that deep and unscrutable Center of the Court, which is her Majesties mind; do not only toll the bell, but even ring out peals, as if your fortune were dead and buried,

buried, and as if there were no possibility of recovering her Majesties favour; and as if the best of your condition were to live a private and retired life, out of want, out of peril, and out of manifest disgrace. And so in this perswasion to your Lordship-wards, to frame and accommodate your actions and mind to that end, I fear (I say) that this untimely despair may in time bring forth a just despair, by causing your Lordship to slacken and break off your wise, loyal, and seasonable endeavour and industry for reintegration to her Majesties favour, in comparison whereof all other circumstances are but as *Atomi*, or rather as a *Vacuum* without any substance at all.

Against this opinion it may please your Lordship to consider of these reasons which I have collected; and to make judgment of them, neither out of the melancholy of your present fortune, nor out of the infusion of that which cometh to you by others relation, which is subject to much tincture, but *ex rebus ipsis*, out of the nature of the persons and actions themselves, as the truest and less deceiving ground of opinion. For though I am so unfortunate as to be a stranger to her Majesties eye, much more to her nature and manners, yet by that which is extant I do manifestly discern that she hath that character of the Divine nature and goodness, as *quos amavit, amavit usque ad finem*; and where she hath a creature, she doth not deface nor defeat it: insomuch as if I observe rightly in those persons whom heretofore she hath honoured with her special favour, she hath covered and remitted not only defections and ingratitude in affection, but errors in state and service.

2. if I can Scholar-like spell & put together the parts of her Majesties proceedings now towards your Lordship, I cannot but make this construction, That her Majesty in her Royal intention never purposed to call your doings into publique question, but only to have used a cloud without a shower, and censuring them by some restraint of liberty and debarring from her presence. For both the handling the cause in the Star-chamber was enforced by the violence of libelling and rumours, wherein the Queen thought to have satisfied the world, and yet spared your appearance: And then after, when that means which was intended for the quenching of malicious bruits, turned to kindle them, because it was said your Lordship was condemned unheard, and your Lordships Sister wrote that private Letter, then her Majesty saw plainly that these winds of rumours could not be commanded down without a handling of the Cause by making you party, and admitting your defence. And to this purpose I do assure your Lordship, that my Brother *Francis Bacon*, who is too wise to be abused, though he be both reserved in all particulars more then is needfull, yet in generality he hath ever constantly
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and with asseveration affirmed to me, That both those dayes, that of the Star-chamber, and that at my Lord Keepers, were won of the Queen meerly upon necessity and point of honour, against her own inclination.

3. In the last proceeding I note three points which are directly significant, that her Majesty did expressly forbear any point which was irrecoverable, or might make your Lordship in any degree incapable of the return of her favour, or might fix any character indeleble of disgrace upon you : For she spared the publick places, which spared ignominie ; she limited the Charge precisely not to touch disloyalty, and no Record remaineth to memory of the Charge or Sentence.

4. The very distinction which was made in the sentence of Sequestration from the places of service in State, and leaving to your Lordship the place of Master of the Horse, doth in my understanding point at this, that her Majesty meant to use your Lordships attendance in Court, while the exercises of other places stood suspended.

5. I have heard, and your Lordship knoweth better, that now since you were in your own custody, her Majesty *in verbo Regio*, and by his mouth to whom she committeth her Royal grants and Decrees, hath assured your Lordship she will forbid, and not suffer your ruine.

6. As I have heard her Majesty to be a Prince of that magnanimity, that she will spare the service of the ablest Subject or Peer, where she shall be thought to stand in need of it ; so she is of that policie, as she will not blaze the service of a meaner then your Lordship, where it shall depend meerly upon her choice and will.

7. I held it for a principle, That those diseases are hardest to cure, whereof the cause is obscure ; and those easiest, whereof the cause is manifest. Whereupon I conclude, that since it hath been your errors in your lowness towards her Majesty which have prejudiced you, that your reforming and conformity will restore you, so as you may be *Faber fortuna propria*.

Lastly, Considering your Lordship is removed from dealing in Causes of State, and left only to a place of Attendance, methinks the Ambition of any which can endure no Partners in State-matters may be so quenched, as they should not laboriously oppose themselves to your being in Court. So as upon the whole matter, I cannot find neither in her Majesties person, nor in your own person, nor in any third person, neither in former precedents nor in your own case, any cause of peremptory despair. Neither do I speak this, but that if her Majesty out of her resolution should design you to a private life, you should be as willing upon the appointment to go into the wilderness as into the land of promise ;

only I wish that your Lordship will not despair, but put trust (next to God) in her Majesties grace, and not be wanting to your self. I know your Lordship may justly interpret, that this which I perswade may have some reference to my particular, because I may truly say *resistente non virebo*, for I am withered in my self; but *manebo*, or *tenebo*, I should in some sort be, or hold out. But though your Lordships years and health may expect return of grace and fortune, yet your Eclipse for a time is an *ultimum vale* to my fortune: And were it not that I desired and hope to see my Brother established by her Majesties favour, as I think him well worthy for that he hath done and suffered, it were time I did take that course from which I dissuade your Lordship. Now in the meantime I cannot choose but perform those honest duties unto you, to whom I have been so deeply bound, &c.

*The Earl of Essex his Answer to Mr. Anthony
Bacon's Letter.*

Mr. Bacon,

I Thank you for your kind and carefull letter; it perswadeth that which I wish for strongly, and hope for weakly, that is, possibility of restitution to her Majesties favour: Your arguments that would cherish hope, turn into despair: You say the Queen never meant to call me to publick censure, which sheweth her goodness; but you see I passed it, which sheweth others power. I believe most stedfastly, her Majesty never intended to bring my cause to a publick censure; and I believe as verily, that since the sentence she meant to restore me to tend upon her person: but those which could use occasions (which it was not in me to let) and amplify and practise occasions to represent to her Majesty a necessity to bring me to the one, can and will do the like to stop me from the other. You say, my errors were my prejudice, and therefore I can mend my self. It is true; but they that know that I can mend my self, and that if I ever recover the Queen, that I will never lose her again, will never suffer me to obtain interest in her favour: and you say, the Queen never forsook utterly where she hath inwardly favoured; but know not whether the hour-glass of time hath altered her, but sure I am, the false glasse of others informations must alter her, when I want access to plead mine own cause, I know I ought doubly infinitely to be her Majesties both *jure creationis*, for I am her creature; and *jure redemptionis*, for I know she hath saved me from overthrow. But for her
first

first love, and for her last protection, and all her great benefits, *I* can but pray for her Majesty; & my endeavour is now to make my prayers for her and my self better heard. For thanks be to God, that they which can make her Majesty believe *I* counterfeit with her, cannot make God believe that *I* counterfeit with him; and they that can let me from coming near to her, cannot let me from drawing nearer to him, as *I* hope *I* do daily. For your brother, *I* hold him an honest Gentleman, and wish him all good much rather for your sake; your self *I* know hath suffered more for me and with me, then any friend that *I* have: But *I* can but lament freely, as you see *I* do, and advise you not to do that *I* do, which is to despair. You know Letters what hurt they have done me, and therefore make sure of this: and yet *I* could not, as having no other pledge of my love, but communicate openly with you for the ease of my heart and yours.

Your loving friend,

R. ESSEX.

Lord Mountjoy to the Earle of Essex.

MOst noble Lord, the Queen is now removing towards a Progress; wherein, after *I* have somewhat waited upon her, *I* shall have a desire to write to your Lordship of some things more at large, which *I* will do as safely as *I* can; your Lordships vertue, and your clear conscience must be your own brazen wall: for we that are not of the Councell do see no hope to keep long together this State from assured ruine. *I* pray God the Queen may with all prosperity out-live their negligence, and your care, to be a just Judge, if not a rewarder thereof. In the mean time you owe unto her, and your own vertue, extraordinary patience. Your Lordships mind (*I* do protest) cannot labour more in the storm wherein you are, then mine doth in this dangerous and miserable calm. For it is some comfort to perish doing somewhat; and yet, my Lord, why should we despair, since there is a Providence that looks beyond, and concludes contrary to the practices of the world; which Providence hath shewed us ways, how rugged soever they be, which will bring unto true happiness; and though we lose these mortall Barkes we sail in, yet he will assuredly save the passengers. Noble Lord, in respect of that great Haven, contemn these tempests and shipwracks at sea. Your Lordships servant Mr. Busbél, doth fear to have you impute his slow dispatch

dispatch unto any want of his diligence, and hath shewed his fear in exceeding sorrow that it could not be sooner, and with as much care by all his best means to effect it. I much thank your Lordship for your favour to Sir *Charles Blunt*, of whom (if he be not thankfull) I shall not onely be deceived, but also revenged. I will pray continually for your Lordships prosperity, — and that it shall be impossible to make me otherwise then

*Your Lordships most honest
and faithfull servant,*

MOUNT JOY.

*Sir Robert Cecil, after Earl of Salisbury, to the Lord
Burleigh his Father, from France. Febr. 26. 1597.*

MY duty humbly remembred to your Lordship : Having lately made dispatches from *Diep*, and having made little way in *France*, by reason of Sir *Thomas Wilks* indisposition, your Lordship can expect little from me ; especially having joyned with my associates in a letter to your Lordship : Nevertheless, because love and duty will find easily occasion to expresse themselves, I am bold to yeild your Lordship some more trouble by my private Letter. I have met here with the premier President of *Roan*, a man of great credit and reputation, one that untill meer necessity did force him, kept much hold here for this King : he afterward retired, and kept the Parliament at *Caen* ; he is learned, grave, of good person, good discourse, & well affectionate to *England*, his name is *Claude Grollart* ; he is now next the Duke *Montpencier*, the stay of all those quarters, insomuch that when the King will be merry with him, he calls him one of the petty Dukes in *Normandy* : he did visit me with great respect, and fell into familiar discourse with me of your Lordship, whom he had known in *England* many years since, and hath had correspondence with your Lordship by letters in Mr. Secretary *Walsinghams* time : And being talking thereof, he desired me to tell your Lordship by occasion, that when these troubles were like to grow by the League, you writ him a letter of advice to stick fast to the King, and not to be doubtful though he saw difficulties ; for you did hold it for a true Oracle, That the Kings on earth are like the Sun, and that such as do seek to usurp are like falling Starres : For the Sun, although it be eclipsed and obfuscated with mists and clouds, at length they are dispersed, where the
other

other are but figures of stars in the eyes view, and prove no more but exhalations, which suddenly dissolve and fall to the earth, where they are consumed. Because I have little else to fill my paper, I presume to trouble your Lordship thus far, to whom I think it cannot be offensive to hear that for your sake I am by many the better used, and that by your own wisdom you are by men of place and gravity both honored and remembred. The marriage of the Duke of *Tremouille* to the Count *Maurice* his sister, hath drawn the Duke of *Bouillon* towards *Britany*, where I am informed by this President, that he meaneth to stay, and to attend the King, to whom he will clear himself if he take any knowledge of any jealousy; and the rather because he is there well fortified in a Countrey full of those that are of the religion. It shall behove me being there to cary my self tenderly towards him. The Kings prosperity in *Britany*, hath already made his Catholikes begin to quarrel with the Accord which hath been made at the Assembly: For the persons that were appointed to frame the Articles into an Edict, have varied upon some principall points, onely to trifle out the time, thereby to discover whether the King may need their assistance or no. But the Duke of *Bouillon* hearing inckling of it, made more haste, and hath been with the King and doth return forthwith to him as soon as he hath been at the marriage of the Lady *Tremouille*. Your Lordship knows the circumstances of my journey are not such as can afford me any means to judge; but this your Lordship may assure, that by that time I have spoken to the King, things will break out one way other so far as it will appear whether it be worth the tarrying to treat or no; after once the King has been dealt with, to which I will address my self with all speed, and not tarry for the States, who may be come to *Paris* by that time I do return: for I believe they will be content to treat any where. I shall have a misse of Sir *Thomas Wilke*, were it not we were well instructed; and surely, he was grown very heavy of late, and dull: If I should stay here to attend his recovery, it would consume me to no purpose. I have written a Letter to the Queen of some such gathering as I have gotten, and of the speeches between me and the President, because her Majesty may not be offended that I write not particularly to her selfe of something. Although the *Spaniards* from *Calis* have spoyled *Base-Bologne*, yet it is not holden here that the Cardinall will sit down before any Town speedily, for he will not be able. Neverthelesse the Constable is come into *Picardy*, to give stay to the Province; if that be the fruit of the Treaty, we shall have less need to dissuade the King.

I much fear Sir *Tho. Wilks* to be in a Lethargie. Since your Lordships Letter of *Feb. 15.* which found me at *Dover* a little before my imbarking, the wind hath not served to bring me any Letter out of *England*. The Lord of heaven send me tidings of your Lordships health, for whom I will daily pray. I received also a Letter from the Earl of *Essex* of the 16. and did imbarke the 17. I humbly take my leave, and rest

Feb. 26. 1597.

Your Lordships humble and
obedient Son,

RO. CECIL

*Sir Francis Walsingham Secretary, to Monsieur Critoy
Secretary of France.*

SIR,

W Hereas you desire to be advertised touching the proceedings here in Ecclesiastical causes, because you seem to note in them some inconstancie and variation, as if we sometimes inclined to one side, sometimes to another, and as if that clemencie and lenity were not used of late, that was used in the beginning; all which you impute to your own superficial understanding of the affairs of this State, having notwithstanding her Majesties doing in singular reverence, as the real pledges which she hath given unto the world of her sincerity in Religion, and of her wisdom in Government well meriteth: I am glad of this occasion to impart that little I know in that matter to you, both for your own satisfaction, and to the end you may make use thereof towards any that shall not be so modestly and so reasonably minded as you are. I find therefore her Majesties proceedings to have been grounded upon two principles.

1. The one, That consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, with the aid of time and the use of all good means of instruction and perswasion.

2. The other, That the Causes of Conscience wherein they exceed their bounds, and grow to be matter of faction, lose their nature: and that Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish the practice in contempt, though coloured with the pretence of Conscience and Religion.

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According to these principles, her Majesty at her coming to the Crown, utterly disliking the tyranny of *Rome*, which had used by terror and rigor to settle commandments of mens faiths and consciences, though as a Prince of great wisdom and magnanimity she suffered but the exercise of one Religion, yet her proceedings towards the Papists was with great lenity, expecting the good effects which time might work in them: And therefore her Majesty revived not the Laws made in the 28. and 35. of her Fathers reign, whereby the Oath of Supremacie might have been offered at the Kings pleasure to any Subject, though he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself; and the refusal to take the same oath without further circumstance was made Treason. But contrariwise her Majesty not liking to make windows into mens hearts & secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and expresse acts or affirmations, tempered her Laws so as it restraineth every manifest disobedience in impugning and impeaching advisedly and maliciously her Majesties supreme power, maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction. And as for the Oath, it was altered by her Majesty into a more gratefull form, the hardness of the name and appellation of *Supreme Head* was removed, and the penalty of the refusal thereof turned only into disablement to take any promotion, or to exercise any charge, and yet with liberty of being reinvested therein if any man should accept thereof during his life. But after when *Pius Quintus* had excommunicated her Majesty, and the Bulls of Excommunication were published in *London*, whereby her Majesty was in a sort proscribed; and that thereupon as upon a principal motive or preparative followed the Rebellion in the North: yet because the ill humours of the Realm were by that Rebellion partly purged, and that she feared at that time no foreign invasion, and much less the attempt of any within the Realm not backed by some potent succour from without, she contented herself to make a Law against that special case of bringing and publishing of any Bulls or the like Instruments, whereunto was added a prohibition upon pain not of treason, but of an inferior degree of punishment against the bringing in of *Agnus Dei*, hallowed bread, and such other merchandise of *Rome*, as are well known not to be any essential part of the Romish religion, but only to be used in practise as Love-tokens to inchant the peoples affections from their allegiance to their natural Sovereign. In all other points her Majesty continued her former lenity: but when about the 20. year of her reign she had discovered in the King of *Spain* an intention to invade her Dominions, and that a principal point of the plot was to prepare a party within the Realm that might adhere to the Foreigner; and that the Seminaries began to blossom and to send forth daily Priests
and

and professed men, who should by vow taken at Shrift reconcile her Subjects from their obedience, yea & bind many of them to attempt against her Majesties sacred person; and that by the poyson which they spread, the humours of moit Papiſts were altered, and that they were no more Papiſts in conscience and of softneſs, but Papiſts in faction; then were there new Laws made for the punishment of such as should submit themselves to such reconcilements or renunciations of obedience. And because it was a Treason carried in the clouds, and in wonderfull secreſie, and came ſeldom to light, and that there was no preſuſpition thereof ſo great as the Recuſants to come to Divine Service, because it was ſet down by their Decrees, that to come to Church before reconciliation was abſolutely heretical and damnable: Therefore there were added Laws containing punishment pecuniary against ſuch Recuſants, not to enforce Conſcience, but to enfeeble and impoveriſh the means of thoſe of whom it reſteth indifferent and ambiguous whether they were reconciled or no. And when notwithstanding all this provision this poyſon was diſperſed ſo ſecretly, as that there was no means to ſtay it but by reſtraining the Merchants that brought it in; then laſtly there was added another Law, whereby ſuch ſeditious Priests of new erection were exiled, and thoſe that were at that time within the Land ſhipped over, and ſo commanded to keep hence upon pain of Treason.

This hath been the proceeding, though intermingled not only with ſundry examples of her Majesties grace towards ſuch as in her wiſdom ſhe knew to be Papiſts in conscience, and not in faction and ſingularity, but alſo with an ordinary mitigation towards the offenders in the higheſt degree committed by Law, if they would but proteſt that in caſe this Realm ſhould be invaded with a foreign Army by the Popes authority for the Catholique cauſe, as they term it, they would take party with her Maſteſty, and not adhere to her enemies. For the other part which have been offenſive to this State, though in other degree, which named themselves Reformers, and we commonly call Puritans, this hath been the proceeding towards them a great while: When they inveighed against ſuch abuſes in the Church, as Pluralities, Non-reſidence, and the like; their zeal was not condemned, only their violence was ſometimes cenſured: When they reſuſed the uſe of ſome Ceremonies and Rites as ſuperſtitious, they were tolerated with much connivencie and gentleneſs; yea when they called in queſtion the Superiority of Biſhops, and pretended to bring a Democracie into the Church, yet their Propoſitions were heard, conſidered, and by contrary writings debated and diſcuſſed. Yet all this while it was perceived that their courſe was dangerous and very popular: As becauſe Papiſtry was odious, therefore it was ever in
their

their mouths, that they sought to purge the Church from the reliques of Popery, a thing acceptable to the People, who love ever to run from one extreme to another. Because multitudes of Rogues, and Poverty were an eye-fore and dislike to every man, therefore they put it into the Peoples head, that if Discipline were plaintive, there should be no Beggars nor Vagabonds; a thing very plausible. And in like manner they promise the people many other impossible wonders of their Discipline. Besides they opened the People a way to Government by their Consistory & Presbytery, a thing though in consequence no less prejudicial to the liberties of private men then to the sovereignty of Princes, yet in the first shew very popular. Nevertheless this (except it were in some few that entred into extreme contempt) was borne with, because they pretended but in dutifull manner to make Propositions, and to leave it to the Providence of God, and the authority of the Magistrate. But now of late years, when there issued from them a Colony of those that affirmed the consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended, when under pretence of a Confession to avoid slanders and imputations, they combined themselves by Classes and Subscriptions; when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing the Government of the Church by ridiculous Pasquils; when they began to make many Subjects in doubt to take an Oath, which is one of the fundamental points of Justice in this Land and in all places; when they began both to vaunt of their strength and number of their partizans and followers, and to use the communications that their Cause would prevail, though with uprore and violence; then it appeared to be no more zeal, no more conscience, but meer faction and division: And therefore though the State were compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restrain them then before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the Church and State could permit. And therefore to conclude, consider uprightly of these matters, and you shall see her Majesty is no Temporizer in Religion. It is not the success abroad, nor the change of servants here at home can alter her; only as the things themselves alter, so she applied her religious wisdom to correspond unto them, still retaining the two rules before mentioned in dealing tenderly with consciences, and yet in discovering Faction from Conscience. Farewell.

Your loving Friend,

Francis Walsingham.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Essex, when Sir Robert Cecil was in France.

My singular good Lord,

I Do write because I have not yet had time fully to expresse my conceit, nor now to attend you, touching *Irish* matters, considering them as they may concern the State, that it is one of the aptest particulars that hath come, or can come upon the stage for your Lordship to purchase honour upon, I am moved to think for three reasons: Because it is ingenerate in your House in respect of my Lord your Fathers noble attempts; because of all the accidents of State at this time, the labour resteth most upon that; and because the world will make a kind of comparison between those that set it out of frame, and those that shall bring it into frame: which kind of honour giveth the quickest kind of reflection. The transferring this honour upon your self consisteth in two points: The one, if the principal, persons imployed come in by you, and depend upon you; the other, if your Lordship declare your self to undertake a care of that matter. For the persons, it falleth out well, that your Lordship hath had no interest in the persons of imputation: For neither Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, nor Sir *John Norris* was yours: Sir *William Russel* was conceived yours, but was curbed: Sir *Coniers Clifford*, as I conceive it, dependeth upon you, who is said to do well; and if my Lord of *Ormond* in this interim do accommodate well, I take it he hath always had good understanding with your Lordship. So as all things are not only whole and entire, but of favourable aspect towards your Lordship, if you now chuse well: wherein in your wisdom you will remember there is a great difference in choice of the persons, as you shall think the affairs to incline to composition or to war. For your ear-taking, popular conceit hath been, that *Irish* causes have been much neglected, whereby the very reputation of better care will be a strength: And I am sure her Majesty and my Lords of the Council do not think their care dissolved, when they have chosen whom to imploy; but that they will proceed in a spirit of State, and not leave the main point to discretion. Then if a Resolution be taken, a Consultation must proceed; and the Consultation must be governed upon Information to be had from such as know the place and matters in fact: And in taking of information I have always noted there is a skill and a wisdom. For I cannot tell
what

what accompt or inquiry hath been taken of Sir William Russell, of Sir Ralph Bingham, of the Earl of Tomond, of Mr. Wilbraham: but I am of opinion much more would be had of them, if your Lordship shall be pleased severally to confer, not *obiter*, but expressly upon some *Caveat* given them to think of it before; for, *bene docet qui prudenter interrogat*. For the points of opposing them, I am too much a stranger to the business to deduce them: but in a—Topique methinks the pertinent interrogations must be either of the possibility and means of Accord, or of the nature of the War, or of the reformation of the particular abuses, or of the joyning of practice with force in the disunion of the Rebels. If your Lordship doubt to put your sickle in others mens harvests, yet consider you have these advantages. First, Time being fit to you in Mr. Secretaries absence: Next, *Vis unita fortior*: Thirdly, the business being mixt with matters of war, it is fittest for you: Lastly, I know your Lordship will carry it with that modesty and respect towards aged Dignity, and that good correspondencie towards my dear Ally and your good friend now abroad, as no inconveniencie may grow that way. Thus have I plaid the ignorant Statesman, which I do to no body but your Lordship, except I do it to the Queen sometimes when she trains me on. But your Lordship will accept my duty and good meaning, and secure me touching the privateness of that I write.

Your Lordships to be commanded,

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Essex, concerning the Earl of Tyrone.

Those advertisements which your Lordship imparted to me, and the like, I hold to be no more certain to make judgment upon, then a Patients water to a Physician: Therefore for me upon one water to make a judgment, were indeed like a foolish bold Mountebank or Doctor Birken. Yet for willing duties sake, I will set down to your Lordship what opinion sprung in my mind upon that I read. The Letter from the Council there leaning to distrust, I do not much rely upon for three causes. First, because it is always both the grace, and the safety from blame of such a Council, to erre in caution: whereunto add, that it may be they or some of them are not without envy towards the person who

is used in treating the Accord. Next, because the time of this Treaty hath no shew of dissimulation, for that *Tyrone* is now in no straits, but like a Gamester that will give over because he is a winner, not because he hath no more money in his purse.

Lastly, I do not see but those Articles whereupon they ground their suspicion, may as well proceed out of fear as out of falsehood for the retaining of the dependance of the protracting the admission of a Sheriffe, the refusing to give his son for hostage, the holding from present repair to *Dublin*, the refusing to go presently to accord without including *O Donnell* and others his associates, may very well come of a guilty reservation, in case he should receive hard measure, and not out of treachery, so as if the great person be faithfull, and that you have not here some present intelligence of present succours from *Spain*, for the expectation whereof *Tyrone* would win time. I see no deep cause of distrusting the cause if it be good. And for the question, her Majesty seemeth to me a winner three ways: First, her purse shall have rest: Next, it will divert the foreign designs upon that place. Thirdly, though her Majesty is like for a time to govern *Precario* in the North, and be not in true command in better state there then before, yet besides the two respects of ease of charge, and advantage of opinion abroad before mentioned, she shall have a time to use her Princely policy in two points: In the one to weaken by division and disunion of the heads; the other by recovering and winning the people by justice, which of all other causes is the best. Now for the *Athenian* question you discourse well, *Quid igitur agendum est*, I will shoot my foole bolt, since you will have it so. The Earle of *Ormond* to be encouraged and comforted above all things, the Garrisons to be instantly provided for: For opportunity makes a thief, and if he should mean never so well now. yet such an advantage as the breaking of her Majesties Garrisons, might tempt a true man. And because he may as well waver upon his own inconstancy as upon occasion, and wont of variableness is never restrained but with fear, I hold it necessary he be menaced with a strong war, not by words, but by Musters and preparations of forces here, in case the Accord proceed not; but none to be sent over lest it disturb the Treaty, and make him look to be over-run as soon as he hath laid down Arms. And but that your Lordship is too easie to passe in such cases from dissimulation to verity, I think if your Lordship lent your reputation in this case, it is to pretend that if not a defensive war as in times past, but a full reconquest of those parts of the Countrey be resolved on, you would accept the charge, I think it would help to settle him, and win you a great deal of honor gratis. And that which most properly concerneth this action, if it prove

a peace, I think her majesty shall do well to cure the root of the disease, and to profess by a commission of peaceable men chiefly of respect and countenance, and reformation of abuses, extortions, and injustices there, and to plant a stronger and surer government then heretofore for the ease and protection of the subject; for the removing of the sword or government in Arms from the Earle of *Ormond*, or the sending of a Deputy which will eclipse it if peace follow, I think unseasonable. Lastly, I hold still my opinion, both for your better information, and your fuller declaration of your care, and medling and meriting service, that your Lordship have a set conference with the persons I named in my former writing. I rest,

At your Lordships service

FR. BACON.

Another to the Earl before his going to Ireland.

MY singular good Lord, your note of my silence in your occasions hath made me set down these few wandring lines, as one that would say somewhat and can say nothing touching your Lordships intended charge for *Ireland*; which my endeavour I know your Lordship will accept graciously and well, whether your Lordship take it by the handle of th'occasion ministred from your self, or of th'affection from which it proceedeth, your Lordship is designed to a service of great merit and great perill; and as the greatness of the peril must needs include no small consequence of perill if it be not temperately governed: for all immoderate successe extinguisheth merit, and seareth up distaste and envy, the assured fore-runner of whole changes of peril. But I am at the last point first, some good spirit leading my pen to presage to your Lordships successe: wherein it is true, I am not without my Oracle and Divinations, none of them superstitious, and yet not all naturall: For first, looking into the course of Gods providence in things now depending, and calling into consideration how great things God hath done by her Majesty, and for her collect he hath disposed of this great dissection in *Ireland*, whereby to give an urgent occasion to the reduction of that whole kingdom, as upon the rebellion of *Desmond* there ensued the reduction of that Province. Next, your Lordship goeth against three

of the unluckiest vices of all other, Disloyalty, Ingratitude, & Insolence: which three offences in all examples have seldom their doom adjourned to the world to come. Lastly, he that shall have had the honor to know your Lordship inwardly, as I have had, shall find *bona extra*, whereby he may better ground a divination of good, then upon the dissection of a Sacrifice. But that part I leave; for it is fit for others to be confident upon you, & you to be confident upon the cause; the goodnesse & justice whereof is such, as can hardly be matched in any example, it being no ambitious war of Foreigns, but a recovery of subjects, and that after lenity of conditions often tried; and a recovery of them not onely to obedience, but to humanity and policy from more then *Indian Barbarism*. There is yet another kind of divination familiar in matters of State, being that which *Demosthenes* so often relieth upon in his time, where he saith, That which for the time past is worst of all, is for the time to come the best, which is, that things go ill, not by accident, but by error; wherein if your Lordship have been a waking Cenfor, but must look for no other now but *Medice cura teipsum*: And although your Lordship shal not be the blessed Physician that cometh to the declination of the disease, yet you imbrace that condition which many Noble Spirits have accepted for advantage, which is, that you go upon the greater perill of your fortune, and the less of your reputation; and so the honor countervaileth the adventure: of which honor your Lordship is in no small possession; when that her Majesty known to be one of the most judicious Princes in discerning of spirits, that ever governed, hath made choyce of you meerly out of her Royall judgement (her affection inclining rather to continue your attendance) into whose hands & trust to put the commandement & conduct of so great forces, the gathering in the fruit of so great charge, the execution of so many Councils, the redeming of the defaults of so many former Governors, and the clearing off the glory of so many happy years reign onely in this part excepted. Nay further, how far forth the perill of that State is interlarded with the perill of *England*; and therefore how great the honor is to keep and defend the approaches of this kingdom, I hear many discourse; and indeed there is a great difference whether the *Tortoise* gather her selfe into her shell hurt or unhurt: And if any man be of opinion, that the nature of an enemy doth extenuate the honour of a service, being but a Rebelle and a Savage, I differ from him; for I see the justest Triumphs that the *Romans* in their greatest greatness did obtain, and that whereof the Emperours in their stiles took additions and denominations, were of such an enemy, that is, people barbarous and not reduced to civility, magnifying a kind of lawless liberty, prodigall of life, hardned

in body, fortified in woods and bogs, placing both justice and felicity in the sharpness of their swords. Such were the *Germans* and ancient *Britains*, and divers others. Upon which kind of people whether the victory be a Conquest, or a Reconquest upon a rebellion or revolt, it made no difference that ever I could find in honour. And therefore it is not the enriching predatory war that hath the preheminance in honour; else should it be more honour to bring in a Carrock of rich burthen, then one of the twelve Spanish Apostles. But then this nature of people doth yield a higher point of honour (considering in truth and substance) then any war can yield which should be atchieved against a civil enemy, if the end may be *Pacis; imponere morem*, To replant and refound the policie of that Nation, to which nothing is wanting but a just and civil Government. Which design as it doth descend to you from your noble Father, who lost his life in that action, though he paid tribute to nature, and not to fortune; so I hope your Lordship shall be as fatal a Captain to this war, as *Africanus* was to the war of *Carthage*, after that both his Uncle and his Father had lost their lives in *Spain* in the same war.

Now although it be true, that these things which I have writ (being but representations unto your Lordship of the honour and apparance of success of the enterprise) be not much to the purpose of my direction, yet it is that which is best to me being no man of war, and ignorant in the particulars of Estate: for a man may by the eye set up the white right in the midst of the But, though he be no Archer. Therefore I will only add this wish, according to the English phrase, which termeth a wel-willing advice a wish, That your Lordship in this whole action looking forward set down this Position, That merit is worthier then fame; and looking back hither would remember this text, That obedience is better then sacrifice. For designing to fame and glory, may make your Lordship in the adventure of your person to be valiant as a private Souldier rather then as a Generall; it may make you in your commandments rather to be gracious then disciplinary; it may make you press action in the respect of the great expectation conceived, rather hastily then seasonably and safely; it may make you seek rather to atchieve the war by force, then by intermixture of practice; it may make you (if God shall send you prosperous beginnings) rather seek the fruition of that honour then the perfection of the work in hand. And for your proceeding like a good Protestant (upon warrant, and not upon good intencion) your Lordship knoweth in your wisdom, that as it is most fit for you to desire convenient liberty of instruction, so it is no less fit for you to observe the due limits of them, remembering that the exceeding of them may not only

only procure (in case of adverse accident) a dangerous disadvo, but also (in case of prosperous success) be subject to interpretation, as if all were not referred to the right end.

Thus I have presumed to write these few lines to your Lordship *in methodo ignorantia*, which is, when a man speaketh of any subject not according to the parts of the matter, but according to the model of his own knowledge. And most humbly desire your Lordship, that the weakness thereof may be supplied in your Lordship by a benign acceptation, as it is in me by my best wishing.

FR. BACON.

Another to him after his enlargement.

My Lord,

N O man can expound my doings more then your Lordship, which makes me need to say the less, only I humbly pray you to believe that I aspire to the conscience and commendation of *Bonns Civis* and *Bonns Vir*, and that I love some things better I confels then I love your Lordship; yet I love few persons better, both for gratitudes sake and for vertues, which cannot hurt but by accident. Of which my good affection it may please your Lordship to assure your self of all the true effects and offices that I can yield: for as I was ever sorry your Lordship should flie with many wings, doubting *Icarus* fortune; so for the growing up of your own feathers, be they *Ostridges* or other kind, no man shall be more glad; and this is the *Axel-tree*, whereupon I have turned and shall turn. Which having already signified unto you by some neer means, having so fit a Messenger for mine own Letter, I thought good to redouble also by writing. And so I commend you to Gods protection. From *Graves Inne, &c.*

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to Sir Robert Cecil after defeat of the Spaniards in Ireland.

It may please your Honour,

A S one that wisheth you all increase of Honour, and as one that cannot leave to love the State, what interest soever I have, or may
come

come to have in it, and as one that now this dead Vacation time have some leisure *ad aliud agend.* I will presume to propound unto you that which though you cannot but see, yet I know not whether you apprehend and esteem it in so high a degree, that is, for the best action of importation to your self, of sound honour and merit of her Majesty and this Crown, without ventosity or popularity, that the riches of any occasion, or the tide of any opportunity can possibly minister or offer. And that is the Causes of *Ireland*, if they be taken by the right handle: For if the wound be not ripped up again, and come to a festered sense by new foreign succours, I think that no Physician will go on much with letting blood in *declinatione morbi*, but will intend to purge and corroborate. To which purpose I send you mine opinion without labour of words in the inclosed; and sure I am that if you shall enter into the matter according to the vivacity of your own spirit, nothing can make unto you a more gainfull return: For you shall make the Queens felicity compleat, which now as it is incomparable: and for your self, you shall make your self as good a Patriot, as you are thought Politique; and to have no less generous ends, then dexterous delivery of your self towards your ends; and as well to have true arts and grounds of government, as the facility and felicity of practice and negotiation; and to be as well seen in the periods and tides of estates, as in your own circle and way: then the which I suppose nothing can be a better addition and accumulation of honour unto you.

This I hope I may in privateness write, either as a Kinsman that may be bolder, or as a Scholar that hath liberty of discourse without committing of any absurdity. If not, I pray your Honour to believe I ever loved her Majesty and the State, and now love your self; and there is never any vehement love without some absurdity, as the Spaniard well saith, *De suario con la calentura*. So desiring your Honours pardon, I ever continue, &c.

FR. BACON.

Considerations touching the Queens service in Ireland,
by Sir Francis Bacon.

THe Reduction of the Country as well to Civility and Justice, as to Obedience and Peace, which things as th' affairs now stand I hold to be unspeakable, consisteth in four points.

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1. The

1. The extinguishing of the Reliques of War.
2. The Recovery of the hearts of the People.
3. The removing of the root and occasions of new troubles.
4. Plantation and buildings.

For the first, concerning the places, times and particularities of further prosecution in fact, I leave it to the opinion of men of war, onely the difficulty is to distinguish and discern the propositions which shall be according to the ends of the State here, that is, final and summary towards the extirpation of the trouble, from those, which though they pretend the publick ends, yet may referre indeed to the more private and compendious ends of the Councel there, or other particular Governors or Captains. But still as I touched in my letter, I do think much letting blood in *declinatione morbi*, is against method of cure. and that it will but exasperate necessity and despair, and per case discover the hollownes of that which is done already, which none blazeth to the best shew: For *Taglatts*:nd proscription of two or three of the principall Rebels, they are, no doubt *jure Gentium* lawfull, in *Italy* usually practised upon the *Banditi*, best in season when a fide goeth down, and may do good in two kinds; the one if it take effect, the other in the distrust which followeth amongst the Rebels themselves. But of all other points (to my understanding) the most effectuall is, the well expressing or impressing of the design of this State, upon that miserable and desolate kingdom, containing the same between these two lists or boundaries: the one, that the Queen seeketh not an extirpation of the people, but a reduction; and now that she hath chastised them by Royall power and Arms, according to the necessity of the occasion, her Majesty taketh no pleasure in effusion of blood, or displanting of ancient generations; the other, that her Majesties Princely care is principally and intentionally bent upon that action of *Ireland*; and that she seeketh not so much the ease of charge, as the Royall performance of her Office of Protection, and reclaim of those her Subjects: And in a word, that the ease is allowed as far as may stand with the honor of the time past, which it is easie to reconcile, as in my last note I shewed. And again I do repeat, that if her Majesties design be *ex professo* to reduce wild and barbarous people to civility and justice, as well as to reduce Rebels to obedience, it maketh weakness true Christianity, and conditions turn graces, and so hath a fineness in turning utility upon point of honor of these times. And besides, if her Majesty shall suddenly abate the lists of her Forces, and shall do nothing to countervail it in the point of reputation of a publick proceeding, I doubt things may too soon fall back into the state they were in. Next to this, adding reputation to the cause by imprinting

imprinting an opiion of her Majesties care and intention upon this action, is the taking away the reputation from the contrary side, by cutting off the opinion and expectation of foreign succours: to which purpose this enterprise of *Algiers*, if it hold according to the advertisement, and if be not wrapped up in the period of this Summer, seemeth to be an opportunity *Caelitus demissa*. And to the same purpose nothing can be more fit then a Treaty, or a shadow of Treaty of a Peace with *Spain*, which methinks should be in our power to fasten, at least *in more terms*, to the deluding of as wise a people as the *Irish*. Lastly, for this point that the Antients called *potestas facta redeundi ad sanitatem*, and which is but a mockery when the Enemy is strong or proud, but effectual in his declination; that is, a liberal Proclamation of grace and pardon to such as shall submit and come in within a time prefixed, and of some further reward to such as shall bring others in, that our sword may be sharpened against anothers, as a matter of good experience; and now I think will come in time. And per case though I wish the exclusions of such a Pardon exceeding few, yet it will not be safe to continue some of them in their strength, but to translate them and their generation into *England*, and give them recompence and satisfaction here for their possessions there, as the King of *Spain* did by divers families of *Portugal*. The effecting of all the which fall within the points aforesaid, and likewise those which fall within the divisions following: Nothing can be in priority either of time or matter precedent to the sending of some Commission of the continuance *ad res inspiciendas & componendas*. For it must be a very significant demonstration of her Majesties care of that Kingdom, a credence to any that shall come in and submit, a bridle to any that have their fortunes there, and shall apply their propositions to private ends, and an evidence of her Majesties politique courses without neglect or respiration; and it hath been the wisdom of the best examples of Government. Towards the recovery of hearts of the people, there be but three things in *hæc tria verum*.

1. Religion. 2. Justice and Protection. 3. Obligation and reward. For Religion, to speak first of Piety, and then of Policie. All Divines do agree, that if Consciences be to be enforced at all whereby they differ, yet two things must precede their enforcement; th' one means of information, th' other time of operation: Neither of which they have yet had. Besides till they be more like reasonable men then they yet are, their society were rather scandalous to true Religion then otherwise, as pearl cast before swine: For till they be cleansed from their blood, incontinencie, and theft, and which are now not the lapses of particular persons, but the very laws of the Nation, they are incompatible with

Religion formed with Policie. There is no doubt but to wrestle with them now, is directly opposite to their reclaim, and cannot but continue their alienation of mind from this government. Besides, one of the principal pretences whereby the heads of the Rebellion have prevailed both with the people and the Foreigner, hath been the defence of the Catholique religion; and it is that likewise hath made the Foreigner reciprocally more plausible with the Rebel. Therefore a Toleration of Religion for a time not definite, except it be in some principal Towns and Precincts, after the manner of some French Edicts, seemeth to me to be a matter warrantable by Religion, and in Policie of absolute necessity; and the hesitation of this, I think, hath been a great casting back of the affairs there. Neither if any English Papist or Recusant shall for liberty of his conscience transfer his person, family and fortunes thither, do I hold it a matter of danger, but expedient to draw on undertaking; and to further population. Neither if *Rome* will cozen it self by conceiving it may be some degree to the like Toleration in *England*, do I hold it a matter of any moment, but rather a good mean to take off the fierceness and eagerness of the humour of *Rome*, and to stay further Excommunications and Interdictions of *Ireland*. But there would go hand in hand with this some course of advantage. Religion indeed, where the people is capable of it, is the sending over of some good Preachers, especially of that sort which are vehement and zealous perswaders, and not Scholastical, to be resident in the principal Towns, endowing them with some stipend out of her Majesties revenues, as her Majesty hath most religiously and graciously done in *Lancashire*; and the recontinuing and replenishing the Colledge begun at *Dublin*, the placing of good men Bishops in the Sea there; the taking care of the versions of Bibles, Catechisms, and other books of Instruction into the Irish language, and the like religious courses, both for the honour of God, and for the avoiding of scandal and insatisfaction here, by a toleration of Religion there. For instance, the Barbarism and desolation of the Country considered, it is not possible they should find any sweetness at all of it, (which hath been the error of times past) formal and fetched far off from the State, because it will require running up and down for process of polling and exactions by fees, and many other delays and charges: And therefore there must be an interim in which the Justice must be only summary, the rather because it is fit and safe for a time the Country do partioipate of Martial government. And therefore I do wish in every principal Town or place of habitation there were a Captain or a Governour, and a Judge, such as Records and learned Stewards are here in Corporations, who may have a Prerogative-Commission to hear and determine *secundum sanam discretionem*;

seretionem, and as neer as may be to the Laws and Customs of England, and that by Bill or Plaint without Original Writ, reserving from their sentence matter of Freehold and Inheritance to be determined before a superior Judge itinerant, to be reversed if cause be, before the Councel of the Province to be established with fit Informations.

For obligation and reward, it is true no doubt which was anciently said, That a State is contained in two words, *Premium & Pæna*: And I am perswaded, if a penny in the pound which hath been spent *in pæna*, a chastisement of Rebels, without other fruit or emolument of this State, had been spent *in premio*, that in rewarding, things had never grown to this extremity. But to speak forwards: The keeping of the principal Irish persons in term of contentment, and without particular complaint, as generally the carrying of an even course between the English and the Irish, whether it be in competition, or whether it be in controversie, as if they were one Nation, without the same partial course which hath been held by the Governours and Councillors, that some have favoured the Irish, and some contrary, is one of the best medicines for that State. And as for other points of governing their Nobility as well in this Court as there, of Knighthood, of Education of their Children, and the like points of comfort and allurements, they are things which fall into every mans consideration.

For the extirpating of the seeds of troubles, I suppose the main roots are but three: The first, the ambition and absoluteness of the chief of the Families and Sects; the second, the licentious idleness of their Kerns and Souldiers that lie upon their Country by sesses and such oppressions; the third, the barbarous customs in habits of apparel, in these Poets or Heralds that inchant them in savage manners, and sundry other such dregs of Barbarism and Rebellion, which by a number of politique Statutes of Ireland meet to be put in execution are already forbidden, unto which such additions may be made as the present time requireth. But the reducing of this branch requireth a more particular notice of the state and manners there then falls within my compass.

For Plantations and buildings, I do find it strange, that in the last plot for the population of *Munster*, there were limitations how much in Demesnes, and how much in Farm and Tenantry, how many buildings should be erected, how many *Irish* in mixture should be admitted; but there was no restraining that they might not build *parson* at their pleasure, much less any condition that they should make places fortified and defensible, the which was too much secureness to my understanding. So as for this last point of plantations and buildings, there be two considerations which I hold most material; th^t one of quickning, th^t other for assuring.

assuring: The first is, that choyce be made of such persons for the government of Towns and places, and such undertakers be procured as be men gracious and wel-beloved, and are like to be well followed; wherein for *Munster* it may be, because it is not *Res integra*, but that the former undertakers stand interessed there, will be some difficulty; but surely (in mine opinion) either with agreeing with them, or by over-ruling them by a Parliament in *Ireland* (which in this course of a politique proceeding, infinite occasions will require speedily to be held) it will be fit to supply fit qualified persons for underakers. The other, that it be not left as heretofore, to the pleasure of the undertakers and adventurers, where and how to build and plant, but that they do it according to a prescript or formality. For first, the places both Maritime and Inland, which are fittest for Colonies or Garrison, as well for doubt of Foreigners, as for keeping the Countrey in bridle, would be found surveighed and resolved upon; and then that the Patentees be tied to build those places onely, and to fortifie as shall be thought convenient. And lastly, it followeth of course in Countries of new populations, to invite and provoke inhabitants by ample liberties and Charters.

FR. BACON.

*Sir Francis Bacon to the Lord Treasurer touching his
speech in Parliament.*

It may please your good Lordship,

I Was sorry to find by your Lordships speech yesterday, that my last speech in Parliament delivered in discharge of my conscience, my duty to God, her Majesty, and my Countrey, was offensive: if it were misreported, I would be glad to attend your Lordship to disavow any thing I said not; if it were misconstrued, I would be glad to expound my words to exclude any sense I meant not; if my heart be mis-judged by imputation of popularity, or opposition, I have great wrong, and the greater because the manner of my speech did most evidently shew, that I spake most simply, and onely to satisfie my conscience, and not with any advantage or policy to sway the cause, and my terms carried all signification of duty, and zeal towards her Majesty and her service. It is very true, that from the beginning, whatsoever was a double Subsidy, I did with might for presidents sake appear to be extraordinary, and for discontents
sake

Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Northampton. 55

fake might not have been levied upon the poverty; though otherwise I wished it as rising as I think this will prove, or more. This was my mind, I confess it: and therefore I most humbly pray your good Lordship, first to continue me in your own good opinion, and then to perform the part of an honorable good friend towards your poor servant, and all in drawing her Majesty to accept of the sincerity and simplicity of my zeal, and to hold me in her Majesties favour, which is to me dearer then my life. And so, &c.

*Your Lordships most humble
in all duty,*

FR. BACON.

Sir Francis Bacon to the Earl of Northampton.

May it please your good Lordship,

AS the time of sowing of a seed is known, but the time of coming up and disclōsing is casual, or according to the season; so I am witness to my self, that there hath been covered in my mind a long time, a seed of affection and zeal towards your Lordship, sown by the estimation of your vertues, and your particular honors and favours to my brother deceased, and to my self; which seed still springing now bursteth forth into this profession. And to be plain with your Lordship, it is very true, and no winds or noyses of evill matters can blow this out of my head or heart, that your great capacities and love towards studies and contemplations of an higher and worthier nature then popular, a matter rare in the world, & in a person of your Lordships quality almost singular, is to me a great and chief motive to draw my affection & admiration towards you: and therefore, good my Lord, if I may be of any use to your Lordship, I humbly pray your Lordship to hold me your own: and therefore withall, not to do so much disadvantage to my good mind, as to conceive that this commendation of my humble service proceedeth out of any straits of my occasions; but meerly out of an election, and indeed the fulness of my heart. And so wishing your Lordship all prosperity, I continue yours, &c.

FR. BACON.

To

To the Lord Kinlofs, upon the entrance of K. James.

My Lord,

THe present occasion awaketh in me a remembrance of the constant amity and mutual good offices which passed between my Brother deceased and your Lordship, whereunto I was less strange then in respect of the time I had reason to pretend; and withall I call to mind the great opinion my Brother (who seldom failed in judgment of a person) would often expresse to me of your Lordships great wisdom and soundness both in head and heart towards the service and affairs of the Lord our Sovereign King. The one of those hath bred in me an election, and the other a confidence to address my good will and sincere affection to your good Lordship, not doubting in regard that my course of life hath wrought me not to be altogether unseen in the matters of the Kingdom, that I may be in some use both in points of service to the King and your Lordships particular: And on the other side I will not omit to desire humbly your Lordships favour in furthering a good conceit and impression of my most humble duty and true zeal towards the King, to whose Majesty words cannot make me known, neither mine own nor others, but time will to no disadvantage of any that shall forerun his Majesties experience by their humanity and commendations. And so I commend your Lordship to Gods protection.

Your &c.

From *Graves-Inne*, &c.

FR. BACON.

To King James.

MAY it please your most excellent Majesty: It is observed upon a place in the *Canticles* by some, *Ego sum Flos Campi & Lilium Convallium*; that it is not said, *Ego sum flos horti & lilium montium*: because the Majesty of that Person is not inclosed for a few, nor appropriate to the great. And yet notwithstanding this Royal vertue of access, which nature and judgment hath placed in your Majesties mind as the portal of all the rest, could not of it self (my imperfections considered)

sidered) have animated me to have made oblation of my self immediately to your Majesty, had it not been joyaed to a habit of like liberty which I enjoyed with my late dear Sovereign Mistress, a Princess happy in all things, but most happy in such a Successor. And yet further and more neerly I was not a little encouraged, not only upon a supposal that unto your Majesties sacred eares (open to the aire of all vertues) there might have come some small breath of the good memory of my Father, so long a principal Councillor in your Kingdom, but also by the particular knowledge of the infinite devotion and incessant endeavours beyond the strength of his body, and the nature of the times, which appeared in my good Brother towards your Majesties service, and were on your Majesties part through your singular benignities by many most gracious and lively significations and favours accepted and acknowledged, beyond the thought of any thing he could effect: All which endeavours and duties for the most part were common to my self with him, though by design between brethren dissembled. And therefore, most high and mighty King, my most dear and dread Sovereign Lord, since now the corner-stone is laid of the mightiest Monarchy in Europe, and that God above, who is noted to have a mighty hand in bridling the floods and fluctuations of the seas, and of peoples hearts, hath by the miraculous and universal consent (the more strange, because it proceedeth from such diversity of causes) in your coming in, given a sign and token what he intendeth in the continuance; I think there is no Subject of your Majesty, who loveth this Island, and is not hollow and unworthy, whose heart is not on fire not only to bring you Peace-offerings to make you propitious, but to sacrifice himself as a Burnt-offering to your Majesties service: Amongst which number no mans fire shall be more pure and fervent; but how far forth it shall blaze out, that resteth in your Majesties employment. For since your fortune, in the greatness thereof, hath for a time debarred your Majesty of the fruitly vertue which one calleth the principal, (*Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos*) because your Majesty hath many of yours which are unknown unto you, I must leave all to the trial of further time; and thirsting after the happines of kissing your Royal hand, continue ever

Your &c.

FR. BACON.

*To the Earl of Northumberland, concerning a Proclamation upon the Kings entry.**It may please your Lordship,*

I Do hold it a thing formal and necessary for the King to forerun his coming, be it never so speedy, with some gracious Declaration for the cherishing, entertaining, and preparing of mens affections. For which purpose I have conceived a draught, it being a thing to me familiar in my Mistres her times to have my pen used in politike writings of satisfaction. The use of this may be in two sorts: First properly, if your Lordship think convenient to shew the King any such draught, because the veins and pulses of this State cannot but be known here; which if your Lordship should, then I would desire your Lordship to withdraw my name, and only signifie that you gave some heads of direction of such a matter to one of whose stile and pen you had some opinion. The other collateral, that though your Lordship make no other use of it, yet it is a kind of pourtraicture of that which I think worthy to be advised to the King, to expresse himself according to those points which are therein conceived, and perhaps more compendious and significant then if I had set them down in Articles. I would have attended your Lordship, but for some little Physick I took. To morrow morning I will wait on you. So I ever continue, &c.

FR. BACON.

*To the Earl of Southampton.**It may please your Lordship,*

I Would have been very glad to have presented my humble service to your Lordship by my attendance, if I could have foreseen that it should not have been unpleasing unto you. And therefore because I would commit no error, I chose to write, assuring your Lordship how credible soever, yet it is as true as a thing that God knoweth, that this great change in me hath wrought no other change towards your Lordship then this, that I may safely be now that which I was truly before:

before: And so craving no other pardon then for troubling you with this letter, I do not now begin to be, but continue to be

Your Lordships most humble and devoted,

FR. BACON.

To the Earl of Northumberland.

It may please your Lordship,

I Would not have lost this journey, and yet I have not that I went for: For I have had no private conference to purpose with the King, no more hath almost any other *English*; for the speech his Majesty admitteth with some Noblemen, is rather matter of grace then matter of businesse: with the Attorney he spake, urged by the Treasurer of *Scotland*, but no more then needs must. After I had received his Majesties first welcome, and was promised private accesse, yet not knowing what matter of service your Lordship carried, for I saw it not, and knowing that privinesse in advertisement is much, I chose rather to deliver it to Sir *Thomas Hoskins* then to let it cool in my hands, upon expectation of accesse. Your Lordship shall find a Prince the furthest from vain-glory that may be, and rather like a Prince of the ancient form then of the latter time; his speeches swift and cursory, and in the full Dialect of his Nation, and in speech of businesse short, in speech of discourse large: he affecteth popularity by gracing them that are popular, and not by any fashions of his own, he is thought somewhat generall in his favours; and his vertue of accesse is rather because he is much abroad, and in presse, then that he giveth easie audience: he hasteneth to a mixture of both kingdoms and nations, faster perhaps then policy will well bear. I told your Lordship once before my opinion, that methought his Majesty rather asked counsell of the time past, then of the time to come. But it is yet early to be found in any settled opinion. For other particularities I refer to conference, having in these generals gone further in these tender arguments then I would have done, were not the beaver hereof so assured. So I continue your, &c.

FR. BACON.

To Sir Edward Coke expostulatory.

Mr. Attorney,

I Thought best once for all to let you know in plainness what I find of you, and what you shal find of me. To take to your self a liberty to disgrace and disable my Law, experience, discretion: what it pleases you, I pray think of me. I am one that know both mine own wants and other mens, and it may be perchance that mine may mend when others stand at a stay: And surely I may not in publike place endure to be wronged, without repelling the same to my best advantage to right myself. You are great, and therefore have the more enviers, which would be glad to have you paid at anothers cost. Since the time I missed the Solicitors place, the rather I think by your means, I cannot expect that you and I shall ever serve as Attorney and Solicitor; but either to serve with another upon your remove, or to step into some other course. So as I am more free then ever I was from any occasion of unworthy conforming my self to you, more then generall good manners, or your particular good usage shall provoke: And if you had not been short-sighted in your own fortune (as I think) you might have had more use of me; but that tide is past. I write not this to shew any friends what a brave Letter I have writ. to Mr. Attorney, I have none of those humours: but that I have written is to a good end, that is, to the more decent carriage of my Masters service, and to our particular better understanding one another. This Letter, if it shall be answered by you in deed, and not in word, I suppose it will not be worse for us both; else it is but a few lines lost, which for a much smaller matter I would adventure. So this being to your self, I for my part rest

Your &c.

FR. BACON.

To the same after La. Chief Justice, and in disgrace.

My very good Lord,

Though it be true, that who considereth the wind and the rain; shal^l neither sow nor reap, *Eccles. 9. 15.* yet there is a season for every action: And so there is a time to speak, and a time to keep silence; there is

is a time when the words of a poor simple man may profit: and that poor man in the Preacher which delivered the City by his wisdom, found, that without this opportunity, the power both of wisdom and eloquence lose but their labour, and cannot charm the deaf Adder. God therefore, before his Son that bringeth mercy, sent his servant the Trumpeter of repentance to level a very high hill, to prepare the way before him, making it smooth and streight. And as it is in spiritual things, where Christ never comes before his Way-maker hath laid even the heart with sorrow and repentance, since self-conceited and proud persons think themselves too good and too wise to learn of their inferior, and therefore need not the Physitian: so in the rules of earthly wisdom it is not possible for nature to attain any mediocrity of perfection, before she be humbled by knowing her self and her own ignorance. Not only knowledge, but also every other gift (which we call the gifts of fortune) have power to pull up earthly ——— Afflictions only level these Molehills of pride, plough the heart, and make it fit for Wisdom to sow her seed, and for Grace to bring forth her increase. Happy is that man therefore both in regard of heavenly and earthly wisdom, that is thus wounded, to be cured; thus broken, to be made straight; thus made acquainted with his own imperfections, that he may be perfected.

Supposing this to be the time of your affliction, that which I have propounded to my self is, by taking this seasonable advantage, like a true friend (though far unworthy to be counted so) to shew you your true shape in a glass, and that not in a false one to flatter you, nor yet in one that should make you seem worse then you are, and so offend you, but in one made by the reflexion of your own words and actions, from whose light proceeds the voice of the people, which is often not unfitly called the voice of God: but therein (since I purposed a truth) I must intreat liberty to be plain, a liberty that at this time I know not whether or no I may use safely, I am sure at other times I could not: yet of this resolve your self, it proceedeth from love, and a true desire to do you good, that you knowing the generall opinion, may not altogether neglect or contemn it, but mend what you find amiss in yourself, and tain what your judgment shall approve; for to this end shall truth be delivered as naked as if your self were to be anatomized by the hand of opinion. All men can see their own profit, that part of the wallet hangs before. A true friend (whose worthy office I would perform, since I fear both your self and all great men want such, being themselves true friends to few or none) is first to shew the other, and which is from your eyes:

First

First therefore behold your errors : In discourse you delight to speak too much, not to hear other men; this some say becomes a pleader, not a Judge : for by this sometimes your affections are intangled with a love of your own arguments though they be the weaker, and rejecting of those which when your affections were settled, your own judgment would allow for strongest. Thus while you speak in your own Element, the Law, no man ordinarily equals you; but when you wander, (as you often delight to do) you then wander indeed, and give never such satisfaction as the curious time requires. This is not caused by any naturall defect, but first for want of election, when you having a large and fruitfull mind, should not so much labour what to speak, as to find what to leave unspoken; rich soils are often to be weeded.

Secondly, you cloy your auditory when you would be observed, speech must either be sweet or short.

Thirdly, you converse with Books, not men, and Books specially humane, and have no excellent choyce with men, who are the best Books: for a man of action and imployment you seldome converse with, and then but with your underlings, not freely, but as a Schoolmaster with his Scholars, ever to teach, never to learn. But if sometimes you would in your familiar discourse hear others, and make election of such as know what they speak, you should know many of these tales you tell to be but ordinary, and many other things which you delight to repeat and serve in for novelties, to be but stale. As in your pleadings you were wont to insult over misery, and to inveigh bitterly at the persons (which bred you many enemies whose poyson yet swelleth, and the effects now appear) so are you still wont to be a little careles in this point to praise or disgrace upon slight grounds, and that sometimes untruly, so that your reproofs or commendations are for the most part neglected and contemned; when the censure of a Judge (coming slow, but sure) should be a brand to the guilty, and a crown to the vertuous. You will jest at any man in publique, without respect of the persons dignity or your own. This disgraceth your gravity more then it can advance the opinion of your wit, and so do all actions which we see you do directly with a touch of vain-glory, having no respect to the true end. You make the Law to lean too much to your opinion, whereby you shew your self to be a legall Tyrant, striking with that weapon where you please, since you are able to turn the edge any way. For thus the wise Master of the Law gives warning to young Students, that they should be wary lest while they hope to be instructed by your integrity and knowledge, they should be deceived with your skill armed with authority. Your too much love of the world is too much seen, when having the living of 10000*l.* you relieve few
or

or none. The hand that hath taken so much, can it give so little? Herein you shew no bowels of compassion, as if you thought all too little for your self; or that God had given you all that you have (if you think wealth to be his gift, I mean that you get well, for I know sure the rest is not) only to that end you should still gather more, and never be satisfied, but try how much you could gather to accompt for all at the great and generall Audit-day. We desire you to amend this, and let your poor Tenants in *Norfolk* find some comfort, where nothing of your estate is spent towards their relief, but all brought up higher to the impoverishing of your Country.

In your last, which might have been your best peece of service to the State, affectioned to follow that old rule which giveth Justice leaden heels and iron hands, you used too many delayes, till the Delinquents hands were loosed, and yours bound. In that work you seemed another *Fabius*, here the humour of *Marcellus* would have done better: What needed you have sought more evidences then enough? While you pretended the finding out of more, (missing your aim) you discredited what you had found. This best Judgments think, though you never used such speeches as are fathered upon you, yet you might well have done it, and but rightly: For this crime was second to none but the Powder-plot: That would have blown up all at one blow, a mercifull cruelty; this would have done the same by degrees, a lingering, but a sure way; one might by one be called out, till all opposers had been removed. Besides, that other Plot was scandalous to *Rome*, making Popery odious in the sight of the whole world: This hath been scandalous to the truth of the whole Gospel, and since the first nullity to this instant, when Justice hath her hands bound, the Devil could not have invented a more mischievous practice to our State and Church then this hath been, is, and is like to be. God avert the evil.

But herein you committed another fault, that you were too open in your proceedings, and so taught them whereby to defend themselves; so you gave them time to undermine Justice, and to work upon all advantages both of affections and honor, and opportunity, and breach of friendship: which they have so wel followed, sparing neither pains nor cost, that it almost seemeth an offence in you to have done so much indeed, then that you have done no more: you stopt the confessions & accusations of some, who perhaps had they been suffered, would have spoken enough to have removed some stumbling-blocks out of your way: and that you did not this in the favour of any one, but of I know not what present unadvised humours, supposing enough behind to discover all, which sel not out so. Howsoever, as the Apostle saith in another case,
you

you went not rightly to the truth, and therefore though you were to be commended for what you did, yet you were to be reprehended for many circumstances in the doing; and doubtless God hath an eye in this cross to your negligence, and the briers are left to be pricks in your sides, and thorns in your eyes. But that which we commend you for, are those excellent parts of Nature, and knowledge in the Law, which you are indued withall; but these are only good in their good use: wherefore we thank you heartily for standing stoutly in the Commonwealths behalfe, hoping it proceedeth not from a disposition to oppose Greatness (as your enemies say) but to do justice, and deliver truth indifferently without respect of persons; and in this we pray for your prosperity, and are sorry that your good actions should not always succeed happily. But in the carriage of this you were faulty, for you took it in hand in an evill time, both in respect of the present business which it interrupted, and in regard of his present sickness whom it concerned, whereby you disunited your strength, and made a gap for the enemies to pass out at, and to return and assault you.

But now, since the case so standeth, we desire you to give way to power, and so to fight that you be not utterly broken, but reserved intirely to serve the Commonwealth again, and do what good you can, since you cannot do all the good you would; and since you are fallen upon this rock, cast out the goods to save the bottom, stop the leaks and make towards land, learn of the Steward to make friends of the unrighteous Mammon. Those *Spaniards* in *Mexico* who were chased of the *Indians*, tell us what to do with our goods in our extremities, they being to passe over a river in their flight, as many as cast away their gold swam over safe; but some more covetous, keeping their gold, were either drowned with it, or overtaken and slain by the Savages: you have received now learn to give. The *Beaver* learns us this lesson, who being hunted for his stones, bites them off: You cannot but have much of your estate (pardon my plainnesse) ill got, think how much of that you never spake for, how much by speaking unjustly or in unjust causes. Account it then a blessing of God if thus it may be laid out for your good, and not left for your heir to halten the wasting of much of the rest, perhaps of all; for so we see God oftentimes proceeds in judgement with many hasty gatherers: you have enough to spare, being well laid, to turn the Tide, and fetch all things again. But if you escape (I suppose it worthy of an if) since you know the old use, that none called in question must go away uncensured; yet consider that accusations make wounds, and leave scarres; and though you see your tale behind your back, your self free, and the Covert before, yet remember there are stands, trust not a reconciled

reconciled enemies, but think the peace is but to secure you for further advantage, expect a second and a third encounter, the main battell, the wings are yet unbroken, they may charge you at an instant, or death before them: walk therefore circumspectly; and if at length by means of our good endeavours and yours, you recover the favour that you have lost, give God the glory in action, not in words onely, and remember us with sence of your past misfortune, whose estate hath, doth, and may hereafter lye in the power of your breath. There is a great mercy in dispatch, delays are tortures wherewith we are by degrees rent out of our estates: do not you (if you be restored) as some others do, fly from the service of vertue to serve the time, as if they repented their goodness, or meant not to make a second hazard in Gods House; but rather let this crosse make you zealous in Gods cause, sensible in ours, and more sensible in all, which expresse thus, You have been a great enemy to Papists, if you love God, be so still, but more indeed then heretofore: for much of your zeal was heretofore waited in words: call to remembrance that they were the persons that prophesied of that crosse of yours long before it hapned, they saw the storm coming, being the principall contrivers and furtherers of the plot, the men that blew the coals, heat the Iron, and made all things ready, they owe you a good turn, and will, if they can, pay it you, you see their hearts by their deeds, prove then your faith so too. The best good work you can do, is to do the best you can against them, that is, to see the Law severely, justly, and diligently executed. And now we beseech you, my Lord, be sensible both of the stroak, and hand that striketh: learn of *David* to leave *Shimei*, and call upon God, he hath some great work to do, and he prepareth you for it, he would neither have you faint, nor yet bear this crosse with a Stoical resolution. There is a Christian mediocrity worthy of your greatness: I must be plain, perhaps rash. Had some notes which you have taken at Sermons, been written in your heart to practise, this work had been done long ago, without the envy of your enemies: But when we will not mind our selves, God (if we belong to him) takes us in hand; and because he seeth that we have unbridled stomacks, therefore he sends outward crosses, which while they cause us to mourn, do comfort us, being assured testimonies of his love that sends them: to humble our selves therefore before God, is the part of a Christian; but for the world, and our enemies, the counsell of the Poet is apt, *Tunc cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.*

The last part of this counsell you forget, yet none need be asham'd to make use of it, that so being armed against casualties, you may stand firm against the assaults on the right hand and on the left. For this is

certain, the mind that is most prone to be puffed up with prosperity, is most weak and apt to be dejected with the least puff of adversity. Indeed she is strong enough to make an able man stagger, striking terrible blows; but true Christian wisdom gives us armour of proof against all assaults, and teacheth us in all estates to be content: for though she cause our truest friends to declare themselves our enemies, though she give heart then to the most cowardly to strike us, though an hours continuance countervail an age of prosperity, though she cast in our dish all that ever we have done, yet hath she no power to hurt the humble and wise, but onely to break such as too much prosperity hath made stiff in their own thoughts, but weak indeed and fitted for renewing, when the wise rather gather from thence profit and wisdom by the example of *David*, who said, *Before I was chastised, I went wrong*. Now then, he that knoweth the right way, will look better to his footing *Garden* faith, That weeping, fasting, and sighing, are the chief purgers of griefes. Indeed naturally they help to assuage sorrow; but God in this case is the onely and best Physician: the means he hath ordained are the advice of friends, the amendment of our selves: for amendment is both Physician and Cure. For friends, although your Lordship be scant, yet I hope you are not altogether destitute; if you be, do but look on good books, they are true friends, that will neither flatter nor dissemble; be you but true to your self, applying what they teach unto the party grieved, and you shall need no other comfort nor counsell. To them, and to Gods holy Spirit directing you in the reading of them, I commend your Lordship, beseeching him to send you a good issue out of these troubles, and from henceforth to work a reformation in all that is amiss, and a resolute perseverance, proceeding, and growth in all that is good; and that for his glory, the bettering of your self, this Church and Commonwealth, whose faithfull servant whilst you remain, I remain a faithfull servant to you.

To Sir Vincent Skinner, expostulatory.

Sir Vincent Skinner,

See that by your needless delayes this matter is grown to a new question: wherein for the matter it self, if it had been staied at the beginning by my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Chancellor, I should not so much have stood upon it: For the great and daily travels which I take in his Majesties

Majesties service either are rewarded in themselves, in that they are but my duty, or else may deserve a much greater matter. Neither can I think amiss of any man, that in furtherance of the Kings benefit moved the doubt, that I knew not what warrant you had: But my wrong is, that you having had my Lord Treasurers and Mr. Chancellors warrant for payment above a moneth since, you (I say) making your payments belike upon such differences as are better known to your self, then agreeable to due respect of his Majesties service, have delayed all this time, otherwise then I might have expected either from our antient acquaintance, or from that regard as one in your place may owe to one in mine. By occasion whereof there ensueth to me a greater inconvenience, that now my name in sort must be in question amongst you, as if I were a man likely to demand that that were unreasonable, or to be denied that that is reasonable: And this must be, because you can pleasure men at pleasure. But this I leave with this, that it is the first matter wherein I had occasion to discern of your friendship: which I see to fall to this, That whereas Mr. Chancellor the last time, in my mans hearing, very honourably said that he would not discontent any man in my place, it seems you have no such caution. But my writing to you now is, to know of you where now the stay is, without being any more beholden to you, to whom indeed no man ought to be beholden in those cases in a right course. And so I bid you farewell,

FR. BACON.

To Mr. Toby Matthews.

Mr. Matthews,

DO not think me forgetfull, or altered towards you: But if I should say I could do you any good, I should make my power more then it is. I do fear that which I am right sorry for, that you grow more impatient and busie then at first, which makes me exceedingly fear the issue of that which seemeth not to stand as a stay. I my self am out of doubt, that you have been miserably abused when you were first seduced; and that which I take in compassion, others may take in severity. I pray God that understands us all better then we understand one another, continue you, as I hope he will, at least within the bounds of loyalty to his Majesty, and natural piety to your Country. And I intreat you much to meditate sometimes upon the effect of Superstition in this last Powder Treason, sit to be tabled and pictured in the chambers of Meditation as

another Hell above the ground; and well justifying the censure of the Heathen, that *Superstition is far worse then Atheism*: by how much it is less evil to have no good opinion of God at all, then such as are impious towards his divine Majesty and goodness. Good Mr. *Matthews*, receive your self back from these courses of perdition. Willing to have written a great deal more, I continue

Yours &c.

FR. BACON.

To the Lord Treasurer, concerning the Solicitors place.

AFTER the remembrance of my humble duty, though I know by late experience how mindfull your Lordship vouchsafeth to be of me and my poor fortune; and since it pleased your Lordship during your indisposition, when her Majesty came to visit your Lordship, to make mention of me for my imployment and preferment: yet being now in the Country, I do presume that your Lordship, who of your self had an honorable care of the matter, will not think it a trouble to be solicited therein. My hope is this, that whereas your Lordship told me her Majesty was somewhat gravelled upon the offence she took at my Speech in Parliament, your Lordships favourable endeavour, who hath assured me that for your own part you construe that I spake to the best, will be as a good tide to remove her from that shelf: And it is not unknown unto your good Lordship, that I was the first of the ordinary sort of the lower House that spake for the Subsidie; and that which I after spake in difference, was but in circumstance of time, which methinks was no great matter, since there is variety allowed in Council as a Discord in Musick to make it more perfect.

But I may justly doubt her Majesties impression upon this particular, as her concept otherwise of my insufficiencie and unworthiness: which though I acknowledge to be great, yet it will be the less, because I purpose not to divide my self between her Majesty and the causes of other men, as others have done, but to attend her business only; hoping that a whole man meanly able, may do as well as half a man better able: And if her Majesty thinketh that she shall make an adventure in using one

one that is rather a man of study then of practice and experience, surely I may remember to have heard that my Father (an example I confesse rather ready then like) was made Solicitor of the Augmentation (a Court of much business) when he had never practised, and was but 27 years old: And Mr. Brograve was now in my time called Attorney of the Dutchy, when he had practised little or nothing, and yet hath discharged his place with great sufficiency. But those and the like things are as her Majesty shall be made capable of them: wherein knowing what authority your Lordships commendations hath with her Majesty, I conclude with my self that the substance of strength which I may receive will be from your Lordship. It is true, my life hath been so private, as I have had no means to do your Lordship service: but yet, as your Lordship knoweth, I have made offer of such as I could yield. For as God hath given me a mind to love the publique, so incidently I have ever had your Lordship in singular admiration, whose happy ability her Majesty hath so long used to her great honour and yours. Besides, that amendment of state or countenance which I have received hath been from your Lordship: And therefore if your Lordship shall stand a good friend to your poor Ally, you shall but *tueri opus* which you have begun; and your Lordship shall bestow your benefit upon one that hath more sense of obligation, then of self-love.

Thus humbly desiring pardon of so long a Letter, I wish your Lordship all happiness.

June 6. 1595.

Your Lordships in all humbleness
to be commanded,

FR. BACON.

To the Earl of Salisbury concerning the same.

It may please your Lordship,

I Am not privy to my self of any such ill deserving towards you^F Lordship, as that I should think it an impudent thing to be a Suitor^F for your favour in a reasonable matter, your Lordship being to me as (with your good favour) you cannot cease to be: but rather it were a simple and arrogant part in me to forbear it.

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It is thought Mr. Attorney shall be Chief Justice of the Common-Place; in case Mr. Solicitor rise, I would be glad now at last to be Solicitor: chiefly because I think it will increase my practice, wherein God blessing me a few years, I may mend my state, and so after fall to my studies and ease, whereof one is requisite for my body, and the other serveth for my mind: wherein if I shall find your Lordships favour, I shall be more happy then I have been, which may make me also more wise. I have small store of means about the King, and to sue my self is not fit; and therefore I shall leave it to God, his Majesty, and your Lordship: for I must still be next the door. I thank God, in these transitory things I am well resolved. So beseeching your Lordship not to think this Letter the less humble, because it is plain, I rest, &c.

FR. BACON.

Again to the Earl of Salisbury.

It may please your good Lordship,

I Am not ignorant how mean a thing I stand for, in desiring to come into the Solicitors place: For I know well it is not the thing it hath been, time having wrought alteration both in the profession, and in that special place. Yet because I think it will increase my practice, and that it may satisfie my friends, and because I have been voiced to it, I would be glad it were done. Wherein I may say to your Lordship, in the confidence of your poor Kinsman, and a man by you advanced, *In idem ser opem qui spem dedisti*: For I am sure it was not possible for a man living to have received from another more significant and comfortable words of hope: your Lordship being pleased to tell me during the course of my last service, That you would raise me; and that when you were resolved to raise a man, you were more carefull of him then himself; and that what you had done for me in my marriage, was a benefit for me, but of no use to your Lordship, and therefore I might assure my self you would not leave me there, with many like speeches: which I know too well my duty to take any other hold of; then the hold of a thankfull remembrance: And I know, and all the world knoweth, that your Lordship is no dealer of Holy water, but noble and real; and on my part on sure ground, that I have committed nothing that may deserve any alteration; and if I cannot observe you as I would, your Lordship

ship will impute it to my want of experience, which I shall gather better when I am once settled.

And therefore my hope is, your Lordship will finish a good work, and consider that time groweth pretious, and that I am now *vergentibus annis*; and although I know your fortune is not to want an hundred such as I am, yet I shall be ever ready to give you my best and first fruits, and to supply, as much as in me lieth, a worthiness by thankfulness.

FR. BACON.

Sir Fr. Bacon to the Lord Chancellor.

It may please your Lordship,

AS I conceived it to be a resolution both with his Majesty, and among your Lordships of his Councell, that I should be placed Solicitor, and the Solicitor to be removed to be the Kings Serjeant; so I most humbly thank your Lordships furtherance and forwardness therein, your Lordship being the man that first devised the mean: wherefore my humble request unto your Lordship is, That you would set in with some strength to finish this your work, which (I assure your Lordship) I desire the rather; because, being placed, I hope for your many favours, to be able to do you some better service: for as I am your Lordship cannot use me, nor scarcely indeed know me; not that I vainly think I shall be able to do any great matters, but certainly it will frame me to use a more industrious observance and application to such as I honour so much as I do your Lordship, and not, I hope, without some good offices, which may deserve your thanks. And herewithal, good my Lord, I humbly pray your Lordship to consider that time groweth pretious with me, and that a married man is seven years older in his thoughts the first day: And therefore what a discomfortable thing it is for me to be unsettled still. For surely were it not that I think my self born for to do my Sovereign service, and therefore in that station will I live and die; otherwise for mine own private comfort, it were better for me that the King should blot me out of his book, or that I should turn my course to endeavour to serve him in some other kind, then for me to stand thus at a stop, and to have that little reputation which by my industry I gather, to be scattered and taken away by continual disgraces, every new man coming in before me; and sure I am I shall never have fairer promises and hope
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from all your Lordships, and I would believe you in a far greater matter; and if it were nothing else, I hope the modesty of my suit deserveth somewhat: for I know well the Solicitors place is not as your Lordship left it, time working alteration somewhat in the profession, much more in that special place. And were it not to satisfie my wives friends, and to get my self out of being a common gaze, and a speech (I protest before God) I would never speak word for it. But to conclude, as my honorable Lady was some mean to make me to change the name of another: so if it please you to help me, as you said, to change mine own name, I cannot be but more and more bounden to you. And I am much deceived, if your Lordship find not the King well inclined; as for my Lord of *Salisbury*, he is forward and affectionate. Yours, &c.

FR. BACON.

To King JAMES.

It may please your excellent Majesty,

How honestly ready I have been, most gracious Sovereign, to do your Majesty humble service to the best of my power, and in a manner beyond my power as I now stand, I am not so unfortunate but your Majesty knows; both in the Commission of Union the labour whereof for men of my profession, rested most upon my hands; and this last Parliament for the Bill of Subsidy, both body and preamble. In the Bill of Attainders; of *Tresham*, and the rest; in the matter of Purveyance, in the Ecclesiasticall Petitions, in the grievances, and the like, as I was ever carefull not without good success, sometime to put forward that which was good, sometime to keep back that which was worse: so your Majesty was pleased kindly to accept of my services, and to say to me, such conflicts were the warres of peace, and such victories the victories of peace; and therefore such servants as obtained them, were by Kings that reign in peace, no less to be esteemed then Conquerors in the warres. In all which nevertheless I can challenge to my self no sufficiencie, that I was diligent and reasonably happy to execute those directions which I received either immediatly from your Royall mouth, or from my Lord of *Salisbury*. At that time it pleased your Majesty also to assure me that upon the remove of the then Attorney, I should not be forgotten, but be brought into ordinary place: and this was after confirmed

confirmed unto me by many of my Lords. And towards the end of the last Term, the manner also in particular spoken of, that is, that Mr. Solicitor should be made your Majesties Serjeant, and I Solicitor, for so it was thought best to sort with both our gifts and faculties for the good of our service. And of this resolution both Court and Country took notice. Neither was this any invention or project of mine own, but moved from my Lords, I think first from my Lord Chancellor: whereupon resting, your Majesty well knoweth I never opened my mouth for the greater place, although I am sure I had two circumstances that Mr. Attorney that now is could not alleadge: the one, nine years service of the Crown; the other, the being Cousin-german to my Lord of *Salisbury*; for of my Fathers service I will not speak. But for the less place, I conceive it was never meant me: but after that Mr. Attorney *Hubbard* was placed, I heard no more of any preferment, but it seemed to be at a stop, to my great disgrace and discontentment. For, gracious Sovereign, if still when the waters be stirred, another shall be put in before me, your Majesty had need work a miracle, or else I shall be a lame man to do your services. And therefore my most humble suit unto your Majesty is, That this which seemed to me intended, may speedily be performed, and I hope my former service shall be but as beginnings to better when I am better strengthened. For sure I am, no mans heart is fuller, I say not but many may have greater hearts, but I say, not fuller of love and duty towards your Majesty and your children, as I hope time will manifest against envy and detraction, if any be. To conclude, I humbly crave pardon for my boldness, &c.

Your, &c.

FR. BACON.

Mr. Edmond Anderfons Letter to Sir Francis Bacon.

Noble Sir,

THere is ever a certain presumption to be had of the favour of great men, so as there be a reason added to accompany their justice; mine, that gives boldness to call upon your succour, is, that I am fallen more under the malignity of rumor, then severity of laws, though that hath ever set mine offence at the blackest mark: to force this latter cloud away, none can but the breath of a King: th'other which threatneth and
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oppresseth

oppresseth more, every good Spirit may help to disperse. In this name, honorable Sir, I beseech your goodnes to spend some few words to the putting of false fame to flight, which hath so often endangered even the innocent: And if the saving of a poor penitent man may come to be part of your care, let it ever be reckoned to your vertue, that you have not only assisted to preserve, but create a person so corrected by necessity, as the example of his repentance was not worthy to be lost, who will live and die thankfully yours,

EDMOND ANDERSON.

*Sir Thomas Bodeley to Sir Francis Bacon upon his
new Philosophy.*

Sir,

AS soon as the Term was ended, supposing your leisure was more then before, I was coming to thank you two or three times, rather chusing to do it by word then letter; but I was still disappointed of my purpose, as I am at this present upon an urgent occasion, which doth tie me fast to *Fulham*, and hath made me now determine to impart my mind in writing. I think you know I have read your *Cogitata & visa*, which I protest I have done with great desire, reputed it a token of your singular love, that you joyned me with those your friends, to whom you would commend your first perusal of your draught: for which I pray you give me leave to say but this unto you, First, that if the depth of my affection to your person and spirit, to your works and your words, and to all your ability, were as highly to be valued as your affection is to me, it might walk with yours arm in arm, and claim your love by just desert; but there can be no comparison where our states are so uneven, and our means to demonstrate our affections so different, inasmuch as for mine own I must leave it to be prized in the nature that it is, and you shall evermore find it most addicted to your worth. As touching the subject of your Book, you have set afoot so many noble speculations, as I cannot chuse but wonder, and I shall wonder at it ever, that your expence of time considered in your publique profession, which hath in a manner no acquaintance with Scholarship or Learning, you should have culled forth the quintessence, and sucked up the sap of the chiefeft kind of Learning. For howsoever in some points you do vary altogether from that which is and hath been ever the received doctrine of our Schools
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and was always by the wisest (as still they have been deemed) of all Nations & Ages adjudged the truest, and yet it is apparent that in those very points, in all your proposals and plots in that book, you shew your self a Master workman. For my self, I must confess, and I speak it *Ingenue* that for the matter of learning I am not worthy to be reckoned in the number of smatterers; and yet because it may seem that being willing to communicate your Treatise with your friends, you are likewise willing to listen to whatsoever I or others can except against it: I must deliver unto you for my private opinion, that I am one of the crew that say there is, and we profess a greater holdfast of certainty in your Sciences, then you by your discourse will seem to acknowledge: For where at first you do object the ill success and errors of practitioners of Physick, you know as well they do proceed of the Patients unruliness: for not one of an hundred doth obey his Physitian in their own indisposition, for few are able in that kind to explicate themselves, or by reason their diseases are by nature incurable, which is incident, you know, to many sorts of maladies, or for some other hidden cause which cannot be discovered by course of conjecture; Howbeit I am full of this belief, that as Physick is ministred now-a-days by Physicians, it is much to be ascribed to their negligence or ignorance, or other touch of imperfection that they speed no better in their practise: for few are found of that profession so well instructed in their Art, as they might by the precepts which their Art doth afford, which though it be defective in regard of such perfection, yet for certain it doth flourish with admirable remedies, such as tract of time hath taught by experimentall effects, and are the open high-way to that knowledge that you recommend. As for Alchimie and Magick, some conclusions they have that are worthy the preserving: but all their skill is so accompanied with subtilties and guiles, as both the Crafts and the Crafts-masters are not onely despised, but named with derision. Whereupon to make good your principall assertion, methinks you should have drawn the most of your examples from that which is taught in the liberrall Sciences, not by picking out cases that happen very seldom, and may by all confession be subject to reproof, but by controlling the generals, and grounds, and eminent Positions and Aphorisms which the greatest Artists and Philosophers have from time to time defended: for it goeth for currant among all men of learning, that those kind of Arts which Clerks in times past did term *Quadrinals*, confirm their propositions by infallible demonstrations. And likewise in *Trivials*, such lessons and directions are delivered unto us, as will effect very neer, or as much altogether, as every faculty doth promise. Now in case we should concur to do as you advise, which is to renounce our common notions, and cancel

cell all our Theorems, Axioms, Rules and Tenents, and so to come babes *ad regnum natura*, as we are willed by Scriptures to come *ad regnum celorum*. There is nothing more certain in my understanding, then that it would instantly bring us to Barbarism, and after many thousand years leave us more unprovided of Theoricall furniture, then we are at this present: For that were indeed to become *Tabula rasa*, when we shall leave no impression of any former principles, but be driven to begin the world again, to travell by trials of actions and sense, (which are your proofs by particulars) what to place in *intellectu* for our generall conceptions, it being a Maxim of all mens approving, *In intellectu nihil esse quod non prius fuit in sensu*. And so in appearance it would befall us, that till *Plato's* year be come about, our insight in learning would be of less reckoning then now it is accounted: As for that which you inculcate of a knowledge more excellent then now is among us, which experience might produce if we would but essay to extract it out of Nature by particular probations, it is no more upon the matter, but to incite us unto that which without instigation by a naturall instinct men will practise of themselves: for it cannot in reason be otherwise thought, but that there are infinite in all parts of the world, (for we may not in this case confine our cogitations within the bounds of *Europe*) which embrace the course which you propose, with all diligence and care, that any ability can perform. For every man is born with an appetite of knowledge, wherewith he cannot be glutted, but still as in a drop-sie thirst after more. But yet why men should hearken to any such persuasions, as wholly to abolish those settled opinions, and generall Theories to which they have attained by their own and their Ancestors former experience, I see nothing yet alledged to induce me think it. Moreover, I may speake as I suppose with good probability, that if we should make a mentall survey what is like to be effected all the world over, those five or six inventions which you have selected, and imagined to be but of modern standing, would make but a slender shew among so many hundreds of all kinds of natures which are daily brought to light by the enforcement of wit or casuall events, and may be compared or partly preferred above those that you have named. But were it so here, that all were admitted that you can require for the augmentation of our knowledge, and that all our Theorems and generall Positions were utterly extinguished with a new substitution of others in their places, what hope may we have of any benefit of learning by this alteration? Assuredly as soon as the new are brought *ad auriem* by the Inventors and their followers by an interchangeable course of naturall things, they will fall by degrees in oblivion to be buried, and so in continuance to perisht outright,

outright; and that perchance upon the like to your present pretences by proposall of some means to advance all our knowledge to an higher pitch of perfectness; for still the same defects that antiquity found, will reside in mankind, and therefore other issues of their actions, devices and studies, are not to be expected then is apparent by Records were in former time observed. I remember here a note which *Paterculus* made of the incomparable wits of the *Grecians* and *Romans* in their flourishing state, that there might be this reason of their notable downfall in their issue that came after, because by nature, *Quod summum studio petatum est ascendit in summum, difficilisque imperfecto mora est*: in-
 somuch that men perceiving that they could not go further, being come to the stop, they turned back again of their own accord, forsaking those studies that are most in request, & betaking themselves to new endeavours, as if the thing they sought had been by prevention fore-prized by others. So it fared in particular with the eloquence of that age, that when their successors found that hardly they could equall, by no means excell their predecessors, they began to neglect the study thereof, and speak for many hundred years in a rustical manner, till this later revolution brought the wheel about again by inflaming gallant spirits to give the onset a-fresh, with straining and striving to climb unto the top and height of perfection, not in that gift alone, but in every other skill in any part of learning. For I do not hold it any erroneous conceit to think of every science, that as now they they are professed, so they have been before in all precedent ages, though not alike in all places, nor at all times alike in one and the same; but according to the changes and turning of times with a more exact and plain, or with a more rude and obscure kind of teaching.

And if the question should be asked what proof I have of it, I have the doctrine of *Aristotle*, and of the deepest learned Clerks of whom we have any means to take any notice, That as there is of other things, so there is of Sciences *ortus & interitus*: which is also the meaning (if I should expound it) of *nihil novum sub sole*, and is as well to be applied *ad facta* as *ad dicta*; *ut nihil neque dictum neque factum, quod non est dictum aut factum prius*. I have further for my warrant that famous complaint of *Solomon* to his son against the infinite making of books in his time, of which in all congruity great part were of observations and instructions in all kind of literature, and of those there is not now so much as one Pamphlet (only some parcels of the Bible excepted) remaining to posterity. As then there was not in like manner to be found any footing of millions of Authors that were long before *Solomon*, and yet we must give credit to that which he affirmed; that whatsoever

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was then or before, it could never be truly pronounced of it, Behold this is new. Whereupon I must for my final conclusion infer, Seeing all the endeavours, study and knowledge of mankind in whatsoever art or science have ever been the same as they are at this present, though full of mutabilities according to the changes and accidental occasions of ages, and Countries and Clerks dispositions, which can never but be subject to intention and remission both in their devices and in their practises of their knowledge. If now we should accord in opinion with you, First to condemn our present knowledge of doubt and incertitude (which you confer but by averment) without other force of argument, and then to disclaim all our Axioms and Maxims, and general assertions that are left by tradition from our Elders to us, which (for so it is to be pretended) have passed all probations of the sharpest wits that ever were *Abecedarii*, by the frequent spelling of particulars to come to the notice of new generals, and so afresh to create new principles of Sciences, the end of all would be, that when we should be dispossessed of the learning which we have, all our consequent travel will but help us in a circle to conduct us to the place from whence we set forwards, and bring us to the happiness to be restored *in integrum*, which will require as many ages as have marched before us to be perfectly atchieved. And this I write with no dislike of increasing our knowledge with new-found devices (which is undoubtedly a practice of high commendation) in regard of the benefit they will yield for the present, that the world hath ever been, and will assuredly continue very full of such Devisers, whose industry that way hath been very obstinate and eminent, and hath produced strange effects above the reach and the hope of mens common capacities; and yet our Notions and Theorems have always kept in grace both with them and with the rarest that ever were named among the learned.

By this you see to what boldness I am brought by your kindness, That (if I seem to be too sawcy in this contradiction) it is the opinion that I hold of your noble disposition, and of the freedom in these cases that you will afford your special friend, that hath induced me to do it. And although I my self, like a Carriers horse, cannot bawke the beaten way in which I have been trained; yet since it is my censure of your *Cogitata* that I must tell you, to be plain, you have very much wronged your self and the world, to smother such a treasure so long in your coffer: For though I stand well assured (for the tenor and subject of your main discourse) you are not able to impanel a Jury in any University that will give up a verdict to acquit you of error, yet it cannot be gainsaid that all your Treatise over doth abound with choice
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conceit of the present state of learning, and with so worthy contemplations of the means to procure it, as may perswade with any Student to look more narrowly to his business, not only by aspiring to the greatest perfection of that which is now adayes divulged in the Sciences, but by diving yet deeper as it were into the bowels and secrets of nature, and by inforcing of the powers of his judgment and wit to learn of St. Paul, *Confiteari meliora dona*: which course would to God (to whisper so much into your ear) you had followed at the first when you fell to the study of such a study as was not worthy such a Student. Nevertheless being so as it is, that you are therein settled, and your Country soundly served, I cannot but wish with all my heart, as I do very often, that you may gain a fit reward to the full of your deserts. Which I hope will come with heaps of happiness and honour.

From Fulham, Feb. 19. 1607.

Yours to be used and commanded,

THO. BODELEY.

Sir, one kind of boldness doth draw on another, insomuch as methinks I should offend to signifie, that before the transcript of your book be fitted for the Press, it will be requisite for you to cast a Censors eye upon the stile and the elocution; which in the framing of some periods, and in divers words and phrases, will hardly go for current, if the Copie brought to me be just the same that you would publish.

THO. BODELEY.

Mr. George Brook to a Lady in Court.

Madam,

THe message which you sent me of her Majesties gracious purpose altered towards me, hath put me into that extasie, that I know not whereupon to rest my self, not having power to believe that which I am bound to know. Is it possible that you should be so weak in grace with her Majesty, as not to prevail in so small a matter for any man but of an intire reputation? or shall I believe that her Majesty, who suffers not the merit of her servants to be buried with them, should not hold me

me equivalent with any new *Melchisedech* without father or mother. I proteit (Madam) I could not preface any ill success to my self, but onely out of the means of my ambition, and have held it therefore superfluous to claim any favour in vertue of supererogation, esteeming it too great a derogation from my self for so poor a thing as a Spittle-house to raise the dead to speak for me, or challenge any thing more then my own. But it is neither the strangeness of the matter, nor the hardness of my belief that can alter the decree of a Prince. But I must take it in good payment, that is no less then for as great a disgrace as can outwardly befall me; yet must I ever hold my self beholding to this suit: for though I lose the Hospital, yet have I lost many errors; withall I have weighed my friends in a balance, and taken a just measure of my fortune. I must not despair, it is not impossible for a man well taught to make a retreat into himself, neither will I yet despair of my suit, onely for this reason, that this change cannot proceed of her Majesties proper motion, but must be procured by some blind practise that dares not see the light, though it may be my fortune to bring it forth blushing; howsoever it be, it shall never distemper my dutifull affection towards her Majesty, though that be for ever barred from her knowledge: for they who are able to prevent her goodness, will be ever likely to prevent my service. That the place is already meant to a Divine, cannot be true, nor my impediment: For there is no kind of her Majesties servants and subjects so provided for, there being such store of places that fall daily both better then this in value, and more proper for their function. Your Ladiship hath been hitherto an honorable and faithfull intercessor for me; Good Madam, be not weary to continue so still, as I shall do ever to acknowledge it, and if I be able, in part to deserve it.

G. B.

To his Wife.

Let me intreat you to read my Letter once again, and if you can find no cause of quarrell, do but then think what you have done all this time to send me such a Cartoll; you cannot be more void of fault then I of suspition, and what you speak I cannot understand. But doth my imprisonment abridge me that I cannot give you counsell? Or have you resolved to follow the counsell of the Lady you know? Know then, as my ill fortune cannot deject me, so ought it much less to make you brave
and

K. James to the Major and Aldermen of London. 81

and insolent. You have your choyce of two courses, let me know which you will take, that I trust not to a broken Reed. And yet what need I care, seeing that you who were my chief care, do now begin to sever your self: I will not yet condemn you, you may see how unapt I am to entertain ill thoughts. I will yet both hold and write my self

Your loving Husband,

G. BROOKS.

**King James to the Major and Aldermen of London after
he was proclaimed, March 28. 1605.**

To our trusty and wel-beloved Robert Loe, Lord Major of our City of London, and to our welbeloved the Aldermen and Commons of the same.

TRusty and welbeloved, we greet you heartily well. Being informed of your great forwardness in that just and honorable action of proclaiming us your soveraign Lord and King, immediately after the decease of our late deceased Sister the Queen; wherein you have given a singular good proof of your ancient fidelity, a reputation hereditary to that our Citie of *London*, being the Chamber of our Imperiall Crown, and ever free from all shades of tumultuous and unlawfull courses; We could not omit with all possible speed we might, to give you hereby a Test of our thankfull mind for the same; and withall assurance that you cannot crave any thing of us fit for the maintenance of you all in generall, and every one of you in particular, but it shall be most willingly performed by us, whose speciall care shall ever be to provide for the continuance and increase of your present happines, desiring you in the mean time to go constantly forward in doing all and whatsoever things you shall find necessary or expedient for the good government of our said City, in execution of justice, as you have been used to do in our said dearest Sisters time, till our pleasure be known to you in the contrary. Thus not doubting but you will do, as you may be fully assured of our gracious favour towards you in the highest degree, we bid you heartily farewell.

Hallyrud-House March 28. 1603.

JAMES R.

M

The

*The Roman Catholiques Petition to King James
for Toleration.*

Most puissant Prince, and orient Monarch ! Such are the rare perfections and admirable gifts of wisdom, prudence, valour, and justice, wherewith the bountifull hand of Gods divine Majesty hath endued your Majesty, as in the depth of your provident judgment we doubt not but you foresee what concerneth both the spiritual and temporal Government of all your Kingdoms and Dominions. Notwithstanding your Graces most afflicted Subjects and devoted Servants the Catholiques of *England*, partly to prevent sinister informations which haply may possess your sacred ears before our answer be heard, partly as men almost overwhelmed with persecutions for our consciences, we are inforced to have speedy recourse in hope of present redress from your Highness, and to present these humble lines unto your Royal person to plead for us some commiseration and favour. Alas, what allegiance or duty can any Temporal Prince desire or expect at his Vassals hands, which we are not addressed to perform ? How many Noblemen and worthy Gentlemen, most zealous in the Catholique Religion, have endured, some loss of lands and livings, some exile, others imprisonment, some the effusion of blood and life, for the advancement of your blessed Mothers right unto the Scepter of *Albion* ? Nay, whose finger did ever ake but Catholiques, for your Majesties present title and dominions ? How many fled to your Court, offering themselves as hostages for their friends to live and die in your gracious quarrel, if ever adversary had opposed himself against the equity of your cause ? If this they attempted with their Princes disgrace to obtain your Majesties grace, what will they do, nay what will they not do to live without disgrace in your Graces favour ? The main of this Realm, if we respect Religion, setting petty Sects aside, consists of four parts : Protestants, who have domineered all the Queens dayes ; Puritans, who have crept up apace amongst them ; Atheists or Polititians, who were bred upon their brawls and contentions in matters of faith ; and Catholiques, who as they are opposite to all, so are they detested of all, because error was ever an enemy to truth. Hardly all, or any two of the first three can be suppressed : Therefore we beseech your Majesty to yield us as much favour, as others of contrary Religion to that which shall be publicly professed in *England* shall obtain at your hands : For if our fault be like less, or none at all,

all, in equity our punishment ought to be like lesſe, or none at all: The Gates, Arches, and Pyramids of *France* proclaimed the preſent King *Pater patria & Pacis reſtitutor*, that is, the Father of his Country, and Reſtorer of their peace; becauſe that Kingdom being well neer torn in peeces with Civil wars, and made a prey to foreign foes, was by his providence, wiſdom and valour acquitted in it ſelf, and hoſtile ſtrangers expelled: the which he principally effected by condeſcending to tolerate them of an adverſe Religion to that which was openly profeſſed. Queſtionleſs, Dread Sovereign, the Kingdom of *England* through the cruel perſecution of Catholiques, hath been almoſt odious to all Chriſtian Nations: Trade and traffique is exceedingly decayed, Wars and blood hath ſeldom ceaſed, Subſidies and Taxes never ſo many, diſcontented minds innumerable. All which your Princely Maſteſties connivance to your humble ſuppliants the afflicted Catholiques, will eaſily redreſs, eſpecially at this your Highneſs firſt ingreſs. *Si loquaris ad nos verba levia, erunt tibi ſervi cunctis diebus.* (1 King. 7. 7.) that is, if you ſpeak comfortable things unto them, or if you hearken unto them in this thing, they will be ſervants unto you, or they will ſerve all their days,] ſay the ſage Councellors of *Solomon* to *Roboam*. For, enlargement after affliction reſembleth a pleaſant gale after a vehement tempeſt; and a benefit in diſtreſs, doubleth the value thereof. How gratefull will it be to all Catholique Princes abroad, and honorable to your Maſteſty, to underſtand how Queen *Elizabeths* ſeverity is changed into your Royal clemencie; and that the lenity of a man reedified what the miſinformed anger of a woman deſtroyed; that the Lyon rampant is paſſant, whereas the paſſant had been rampant. How acceptable ſhall your Subjects be to all Catholique Countries, who are now almoſt abhorred of all, when they ſhall perceive your Highneſs prepareth not pikes or priſons for the Profeſſors of their Faith, but permitteth them Temples and Altars for the uſe of their Religion. Then we ſhall ſee with our eyes, and touch with our fingers that happy benediction of *Iſa. 14. 7.* in this Land, that ſwords are turned into mattocks or ploughs, and lances into ſithes; and all Nations admiring us will ſay, *Hi ſunt ſemen cui benedixit Dominus*, that is, theſe are the ſeed which the Lord hath bleſſed.

We requeſt no more favour at your Graces hands, then that we may ſecurely believe and profeſs that Catholique Religion which all your happy Predeceſſors profeſſed, from *Donaldus* the firſt converted, unto your late bleſſed Mother martyred; a Religion venerable for antiquity, maſteſtical for amplitude, conſtant for continuance, irreprehenſible for doctrine, inducing to all kind of vertue and piety, diſwad- ing from all ſin and wickedneſs; a religion beloved by all primitive

Pastors, established by all Oecumenicall Councils, upholden by ancient Doctors, maintained by the first and best Christian Emperours, recorded almost alone in all Ecclesiasticall Histories, sealed with the blood of millions of Martyrs, adorned with the vertues of so many Confessors, beautified with the purity of thousands of virgins, so conformable unto naturall sense and reason; and finally, so agreeable with the sacred Texts of Gods Word and Gospell: The free use of this Religion we request, if not in publick Churches, at the least in private houses; if not with approbation, yet with toleration without molestation. Assuring your Grace, that howsoever some Protestants or Puritans incited by morall honesty of life, or innated instinct of nature, or for fear of some temporall punishment, pretend obedience unto your Highnesss Laws; yet certainly the onely Catholiques for conscience sake observe them: For they defending that Princes Precepts and Statutes oblige no subject under the penalty of sin, will have little care in conscience to transgress them, which principally are tormented with the guilt of sin. But Catholiques professing merit in obeying, and immerit in transgressing, cannot but in Soul be grievously tortured for the least prevarication thereof: Wherefore, most mercifull Sovereign, we your loving afflicted subjects, in all dutifull subjection, protest before the Majesty of God, and all his holy Angels, as loyal obedience, and immaculate allegiance unto your Grace, as ever did faithfull subjects in *England* or *Scotland* unto your Highnesss Progenitors, and intend as sincerely with our goods and lives to serve you, as ever did the loyallest Israelites King *David*, or the trustiest Legions the Roman Emperours. And thus expecting your Majesties customary favour and gracious bounty, we rest your devoted suppliants to him whose hands do manage the hearts of Kings, and with reciprocate mercy will requite the mercifull.

*Your Majesties most devoted servants
the Catholiques of England.*

Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh to King James before his triall.

IT is one part of the Office of a iust and worthy Prince, to hear the complaints of his vassals; especially such as are in great misery. I know not amongst many other presumptions gathered against me, how your Majesty hath been perswaded, that I was one of them who were greatly discontented, and therefore the more likely to prove disloyall. But the great God so relieve me in both worlds as I was the contrary, and I took as great comfort to behold your Majesty, and always learning some good, and bettering my knowledge by hearing your Majesties discourse. I do most humbly beseech your Sovereign Majesty not to believe any of those in my particular, who under pretence of offences to Kings, do easily work their particular revenge. I trust no man under the colour of making examples, should perswade your Majesty to leave the word *Mercifull* out of your Stile; for it will be no less profit to your Majesty, & become your greatness, then the word *Invincible*. It is true, that the Laws of *England* are no less jealous of the Kings then *Cæsar* was of *Pompey's* wife: for notwithstanding she was cleared for having company with *Claudius*, yet for being suspected, he condemned her. For my self, I protest before Almighty God, and I speak it to my Master and Sovereign, that I never invented treason against him; and yet I know I shall fall *in manibus eorum a quibus non possum evadere*, unless by your Majesties gracious compassion I be sustained. Our Law therefore (most mercifull Prince) knowing her own cruelty, and knowing that she is wont to compound treason out of presumptions and circumstances, doth give this charitable advice to the King her Supream, *Non solum sapiens esse sed & misericors, &c. cum tutius sit reddere rationem misericordie quam iudicii*. I do therefore on the knees of my heart beseech your Majesty from your own sweet and comfortable disposition, to remember that I have served your Majesty twenty years, for which your Majesty hath yet given me no reward; and it is fitter I should be indebted unto my Sovereign Lord, then the King to his poor Vassal; Save me therefore, most mercifull Prince, that I may ow your Majesty my life it self, then which there cannot be a greater debt. Limit me at least, my Sovereign Lord, that I may pay it for your service when your Majesty shall please. If the Law destroy me, your Majesty shall put me out of your power, and I shall have none to fear but the King of Kings.

WALTER RALEIGH.

*Sir Walter Raleigh to Sir Robert Car, after Earl
of Somerset.*

S I R,

AFter many losses, and many years sorrows, of both which I have cause to fear I was mistaken in their ends: It is come to my knowledge, that your self (whom I know not but by an honorable favour) hath been perswaded to give me and mine my last fatal blow, by obtaining from his Majesty the Inheritance of my Children and Nephews, lost in Law for want of a word. This done, there remaineth nothing with me but the name of life: His Majesty, whom I never offended, (for I hold it unnatural and unmanlike to hate goodness) staid me at the graves brink; not that I thought his Majesty thought me worthy of many deaths, and to behold mine cast out of the world with my self, but as a King that knoweth the poor in truth, hath received a promise from God that his Throne shall be established.

And for you, Sir, seeing your fair day is but in the dawn, mine drawn to the setting; your own vertues and the Kings grace assuring you of many fortunes and much honour: I beseech you begin not your first building upon the ruines of the innocent, and let not mine and their sorrows attend your first plantation. I have ever been bound to your Nation as well for many other graces, as for the true report of my trial to the Kings Majesty; against whom had I been malignant, the hearing of my cause would not have changed enemies into friends, malice into compassion, and the minds of the greatest number then present into the commiseration of mine estate. It is not the nature of foul Treason to beget such fair passions; neither could it agree with the duty and love of faithfull Subjects (especially of your Nation) to bewail his overthrow that had conspired against their most natural and liberal Lord. I therefore trust that you will not be the first that shall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo the curse of them that enter the fields of the fatherless: which, if it please you to know the truth, is far less in value then in fame. But that so worthy a Gentleman as your self will rather bind us to you (being sixe Gentlemen not base in birth and alliance) which have interest therein: And my self with my uttermost thankfulness will remain ready to obey your commandments.

WALTER RALEIGH

Sir

*Sir Thomas Egerton Chancellor, after Lord Ellesmere,
to the Earl of Essex.*

SIR,

HOW things proceed here touching your self, you shall partly understand by these inclosed. Her Majesty is gracious towards you, and you want not friends to remember and commend your former services. Of these particulars you shall know more when we meet. In the mean time by way of caution take this from me: There are sharp eyes upon you, your actions publique and private are observed: It becometh you therefore to carry your self with all integrity and sincerity both of hands and heart, lest you overthrow your own fortunes, and discredit your friends that are tender and carefull of your reputation and well-doing. So in haste I commit you to God, with my very hearty commendations, and rest

Your assured loving Friend,

*At the Court at Richmond,
21 Octob. 1599.*

THO. EGERTON, C.S.

Lord Chancellor Ellesmere to King James.

Most gracious Sovereign,

I Find through my great age, accompanied with griefs and infirmities, my sense and conceipt is become dull and heavy, my memory decayed, my judgment weak, my hearing imperfect, my voice and speech failing and faltering, and in all the powers & faculties of my mind & body great debility. Wherefore, *conscientia imbecilitatis*, my humble suit to your most sacred Majesty is, to be discharged of this great Place wherein I have long served, and to have some comfortable Testimony under your Royal hand, that I leave it at this humble suit with your gracious favour: So shall I with comfort number and spend the few dayes I have to live, in meditation, and prayers to Almighty God, to preserve your Majesty and all yours in all heavenly and earthly felicity and happines.

This

This suit I intended some years past, *ex dictamine rationis & conscientia*: Love and fear stayed it; now Necessity constrains me to it, I am utterly unable to sustain the burthen of this great service; for I am come to St. Pauls desire, *Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo*. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your Majesty most favourably to grant it.

Your Majesties most humble and loyal
poor Subject and Servant,

THO. ELLESMERE Canc.

Again to the same King.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOur royal favour hath placed and continued me many years in the highest place of ordinary Justice in this your Kingdom, and hath most graciously borne with my many, but unwilling errors and defects, accepting in stead of sufficiency, my zeal and fidelity, which never failed. This doth encourage and stir in me an earnest desire to serve still. But when I remember St. Pauls rule, *Let him that hath an office wait on his office*, and do consider withall my great age and many infirmities, I am dejected and do utterly faint: For I see and feel sensibly, that I am not able to perform those duties as I ought, and the place requires; and thereupon I do seriously examine my self what excuse or answer I shall make to the King of Kings, and Judge of all Judges, when he shall call me to accompt; and then my conscience shall accuse me, that I have presumed so long to undergo and weild so mighty and great a charge and burthen: and I behold a great Cloud of witnesses ready to give evidence against me.

1. Reason telleth me, and by experience I find, *Senectus est tarda & obliuiosa, & insanabilis morbus*.

2. I heard the precepts and counsel of many reverend, sage, and learned men, *Senectuti debetur otium, solve senectutem matrem, &c.*

3. I read in former Laws, that old men were made *temerarii & rudes donati*: And one severe Law that saith, *Sexagenarius de ponte*, whereupon they are called *Depontanci*. And Plato lib. 6. de legibus, speaking of a great Magistrate which was *Præfectus legibus servandis*, determineth

neth thus, *Minor annis 50 non admittatur; nec major annis 70 permittatur in eo perseverare.* And to this Law, respecting both mine office and my years, I cannot but yeeld. But leaving foreign Laws, the Stat. anno 13. E. 1. speaketh plainly, *Homines excedentes aetatem 70 annorum non ponantur in Assisis & Juratis.* So as it appeareth that men of that age are by that Law discharged of greater painfull and carefull, especially Judiciall Offices.

4. Besides, I find many examples of men of great wisdom, knowledge and judgment, meet and worthy to be followed; of which (leaving all other) I will remember that of *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellor of *England*, who after long service, was upon his humble suit discharged of the office of Chancellor of *England* in respect of his great age. Seeing then such a cloud of witnesses against me, which in my private Soliloquies and Meditations, are daily and continually represented to my view, and mine own conscience (more then a thousand witnesses) concurring with me; Pardon me, my most gracious Sovereign, to conclude with good *Barzillai*, *Quot sunt dies annorum vite mee, quare servus tuus sit oneri domino nostro Regi, obsecro ut revertar servus tuus & moriar, &c.* So I most humbly beseech your sacred Majesty, graciously to regard the great age, infirmity, and impotency of your most devoted, obedient, loyall and faithfull servant. Let me not be as *Domitius* after was, *Maluit deficere quam desinere.* But with your Princely favour give me leave to retire myself from the careful service of this great office, and from the troubles of this world, and to spend the small remnant of this my life in meditation and prayer, & I will never ceate to make my humble supplications to Almighty God to blefs & prosper your Majesty, the Queen, the Prince, all your Royal issue, with all heavenly and earthly felicity, which is the last and best service your poor, aged, weak and decayed servant can do for you.

THO. ELLESMERE Canc.

Sir Francis Norris to King James.

Most gracious Sovereign,

THE advantage which mine adversary hath taken, in first presenting his complaint freely and uncontrolled, would have afflicted me greatly, had I not known that your Majesty hath given to your Judges

N

injunction,

Injunction, *Audite alteram partem*. That I entered into discourse with the Lord *Willoughby* in Church or Church-yard, may make it manifest, that I had no disposition at all to quarrell. The rest of the world is wide enough for men so affected. They that prophane such places, trust more to the place the ntheir own worth. That I was improvidently in such a place by him surprized, muffled in my own Cloak, and treacherously buffeted, shewed that I suspected no such assault as was there made upon me, and where I was so disgracefully and ignobly assaulted by the Lord *Willoughby*, and he in no sort by me, yet wel I hope to satisfie every indifferent judgement, much more the supream Judge, that I had nothing in my intention either towards the Master or the Man. It is true, most gracious Sovereign, that after the Lord *Willoughby's* dishonorable indignity by me expelled, I seeing an unknown face coming fiercely with his sword upon me for my life, (in defence whereof God himself, the law of Nature and Nations doth warrant us to contend) I was forced to have forgone it at a Ruffins command, or by resisting to yeild it up to your Majesty, to whom I have vowed it (whensoever you shall command it) to your service. This I presume to write to a King in whom rests the spirit of honor; and by that spirit I hope your Majesty will judge, that he which will run from his own defence, being injuriously assaulted, will also run from the defence of his Sovereign Master. I also presume in all humility to address my self to a Prince indued with the spirit of Justice, joyned to the divine vertue of compassion; by both which I nothing doubt your Majesty will judge when you shall be truly informed, of the preceding and succeeding wrongs offered me, that I am and will be

Your Majesties most humble
and loyall subject,

FR. NORRIS.

A Patent for the Admiralty of Ireland.

Right trusty and welbeloved Cousin and Councillor, We greet you well. Whereas we are graciously pleased, as well for the increase of our Navy and Navigators, as also for the better enabling and enriching
of.

of our Subjects in our Realm of *Scotland*, to give way and licence unto our loving Subjects of *Scotland*, and so many of them as may make a full, able, and compleat company for Traffick and Merchandizing into the East Indies, to erect and set up among themselves a Company, to be called *The East Indian Company of Scotland*, making their first Magazin Storehouse for the said Company in some parts of our Realm of *Ireland*. But for that our Ports and Seas upon the Coasts of our said Realm of *Ireland*, have of late, and still are likely, without our speciall aid and assistance, to be much troubled and annoyed with Pirates, and other Sea-Robbers, to the great discouragement of our loving Subjects and Merchants passing that way: We, for the avoyding of those inconveniences, and for the better heartning of the said Company in their intended voyage and traffick, have, for reasons to us best known, resolved (notwithstanding any other imployments of our Ships there) by our Letters Patents under our great Seal of *England*, and at the humble request and Petition of our loving Subjects of the said Company, to nominate and appoint *A. B.* our trusty servant, to be imployed in those Seas and Coasts of *Ireland*, as fully and amply as our servant *Sir F. H.* is now for our narrow Seas. And to the end he may with more courage and less prejudice to our said servant *Sir F. H.* by his diligence and industry in the said imployment free those Seas from the said annoyances, our pleasure is, That you by your Deed Poll do 'give' unto our said Servant such and the like power and authority for the *Irish* Seas and Chanell of *St. George*, as the said *Sir F. H.* hath for the Narrow Seas: So always as the power and authority of the said *A. B.* may begin where the power and authority of the said *Sir F. H.* doth end, that is to say, from our Island of *Scilie* in our Realm of *England*, unto and alongst the Coast of *Ireland*, and the Chanell of *St. George*. So not doubting of your speedy effecting of what is here required for the furtherance of so good a work, We bid you heartily farewell.

From our Court at, &c.

N^o

*A Commission to divers Lords, &c. for the delivery of
Ullushing, Brill, &c. May 14. Jac. 14.*

IAMES by the grace of God King of England, &c. To the right Reverend Father in God, our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor *George* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*. and to our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor *Tho. Ellesmere* Lord Chancellor of *England*, and to our right trusty and welbeloved Cousins and Councillors *Tho. Earl of Suffolk* Lord Treasurer of *England*, *Edward* Earl of *Worcester* Lord Keeper of our Privy-Seal, *Lodowick* Duke of *Lennox* Lord Steward of our household, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral of *England*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke* Lord Chamberlain of our household, *Tho. Earl of Exeter*, *John* Earl of *Mar*, and *Alexander* Earl of *Dumfermlin*; and to our right trusty and right welbeloved Councillors, *Tho. Viscount Fenton*, *Tho. Bishop of Winton*, *Edward* Lord *Zouch* Lord Warden of our Cinque-Ports, *William* Lord *Knowls* Treasurer of our household, *John* Lord *Stanhop*, and *Tho. Lord Bannings*; and to our right trusty and welbeloved Councillors, Sir *John Digby* Knight our Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *John Herbert* Knight one of our principal Secretaries of State, Sir *Fulk Grevil* Knight Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of our Exchequer, Sir *Tho. Parry* Knight Chancellor of our Dutchy of *Lancaster*, Sir *Edward Coke* Knight Chief Justice of our Bench, and Sir *Julius Cesar* Knight Master of our Rolls, greeting.

Whereas the States-Generall of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries have divers times solicited us by their resident Ambassador Sir *Noel Caron* Knight, that we would be pleased to render into their hands the Towns of *Flushing* in *Zeland*, with the Castle of *Ramakin*, and of *Bril* in *Holland*, with the Forts and sconces thereunto belonging, which we hold by way of caution, untill such sums of money as they owe unto us be reimbursed, upon such reasonable conditions as should be agreed on between us and them for the reimbursing and repayments of the said monies: And whereas we have recommended the consideration of this so mighty and important an affair to the judgment and discretion of you the Lords of our Privy-Council, and have received from you after long and mature deliberation and examination of the circumstances an advice, That as the present condition of our State now standeth, and as the nature of those Towns is meer cautionary, wherein we can chal-

lenge

lenge no interest of propriety; it would be much better for our service, upon fair and advantageous conditions to render them, then longer to hold them at so heavy a charge. Now forasmuch as in our Princely wisdom we have resolved to yield up our said Towns, with the said Castle and Sconces belonging unto them, upon such conditions as shall be most for our advantage as well in point of honour as of profit, Know ye therefore that we have assigned and appointed you the said Archbishop, L. Treasurer, L. Privy-Seal, L. Steward, L. Admiral L. Chamberlain, E. of *Exeter*, E. of *Mar*, E. of *Dunfermlin*, Vicount *Fintons*, L. Bishop of *Winton*, L. *Zouch*, L. *Knowls*, L. *Stanhop*, L. *Banning*, Sir *John Digby*, Sir *John Herbert*, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Sir *Tho. Lake*, Sir *Fulk Grevil*, Sir *Tho. Parry*, Sir *Edw. Coke*, Sir *Julius Cesar*, our Commissioners, and do by these presents give full power & authority unto you or the more part of you for us and in our name to treat and conclude with the said Sir *Noel Caron* Knight Ambassador from the States of the United Provinces, being likewise for that purpose sufficiently authorized from the said States his superiours, touching the rendition and yielding up of the said Town of *Flushing*, with the Castle of *Ramakins* in *Zeland*, and of the Town of *Bril* in *Holland*, with the Forts and Sconces thereto belonging, and of the Artillery and Munition formerly delivered by the States, with the same which are now remaining in them or any of them, and have not been spent and consumed. And for the delivery of them into the hands of the said States on such terms as by you shall be thought fit for our most honour and profit; and for the manner thereof to give instructions to our said several Governours of the said Garrisons, according to such your conclusion. And this our Commission or the enrollment or exemplification thereof shall be unto you and every of you a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. In witness &c. Witness our self at *Westminster*, the 31 day of *May*, in the 14 year of our Reign, &c. and of *Scotland* the 49.

A Commission to Viscount Lisle Governour, to deliver them up, 22 May, 14. Jac.

JAMES by the grace of God, &c. To our right trusty and welbeloved Cozen, *Robert Lord Viscount Lisle*, Lord Chamberlain to our dear Consort the Queen, and our Governour of our Town of *Flushing*, and of the Castle of *Ramakins*, greeting. Whereas we by

by Our Letters Patents sealed with Our great Seal of *England*, bearing date at *Westminster* the 22. day of *April*, in the fifth year of Our reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, of *Scotland* the 3^d. for the consideration therein expressed, did make, ordain, and constitute you the said Viscount *Lisle*, by the name of Sir *Robert Sydney* Knight, for Us to be the Governour and Captain of the said Town of *Vlushing*, and of the Castle of *Ramakers* in the *Low-Countries*, and of all the Garrisons and Souldiers that then were, or hereafter should be there placed for Our service and guard of the said Town and Castle, to have, hold, exercise and occupy the Office of the said Governor and Captain of the said Town and Castle by your self, or your sufficient Deputie or Deputies, to be allowed by Us during Our pleasure; giving unto you full power and authority by your said Letters Patents, to take the Oath and Oaths of all Captains & Souldiers then serving, or that hereafter should serve in the same Town and Castle, as in like causes was requisite, with divers other powers therein mentioned, as by Our said Letters Patents at large appeareth. And whereas the States generall of the United Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, have divers and sundry times for many years together solicited Us by their Resident Ambassador Sir *Noel Caron* Knight, that We would be pleased to render into their hands the said Town of *Vlushing* in *Zealand*, with the said Castle of *Ramakers*, and the Town of *Brill* in *Holland*, with the Forts & Sconces thereunto belonging, which We hold by way of Caution until such sum of money as they owe unto Us, be reimbursed upon such reasonable conditions as should be agreed upon between Us & them for the reimbursing and repaiment of the said monies. And whereas thereupon We recommended the consideration of this so weighty and important an affair to the judgement and discretion of the Lords of the Privy Councell, and have received from them (after long and mature deliberation and examination of Circumstances) an advice, that as the present condition of Our State now standeth, and as the nature of those towns is lying onely Cautionary, wherein we can challenge no interest of propriety, it should be much better for our service upon fair and advantagious conditions to render them, then longer to hold them at so heavy a charge. Now forasmuch as in Our Princely Wisdom We have resolved to yeild up Our said Towns with the said Castle, and Sconces belonging unto them, upon such conditions as shall be most fit for Our advantage, as well in point of honor as of profit: And to that end by Our Commission under Our great Seal of *England*, have assigned and appointed the Lords and others of Our Privy Councell Our Commissioners, and thereby give full power and authority unto them, or the more part of them for Us, and in Our name to treat and conclude with

with the said Sir Noell Caron Knight, Ambassador from the States of the United Provinces, being likewise for that purpose sufficiently authorized from the said States his superiors, touching the rendition and yielding up of the said Town of *Vlissing*, with the Castle of *Ramakin* in *Zealand*, and of the said town of *Brill* in *Holland*, with the Forts and Sconces thereunto belonging, and of the Artillery or Munition formerly delivered by the said States, with the same Towns, and Castles, and Forts, and which are now remaining in them, or any of them, and have not been spent or consumed. And for the delivery of the said Towns, Castle, Forts, Artillery, and Munition into the hands of the said States, upon such terms as by the said Lords, and other of our Privy Councill, or the more part of them, shall be thought fit for our most honor and profit, and for the manner thereof to give instructions to our several Governors of our said Garrisons according to such their conclusion, which conclusion according to our said Commission is already made and perfected.

We do therefore hereby give power and authority unto, and do charge and command you the said Lord *Lisle* for us and in our name to render and yield up into the hands of the said States of the United Provinces, or to such persons as shall be lawfully deputed by them, the aforesaid Town of *Vlissing*, and Castle of *Ramakin*, whereof now you have charge by vertue of our Letters-Patents aforesaid, together with the Artillery and Munition now remaining in them or any of them, heretofore delivered by the said States with the said Town and Castle, and as yet not spent or consumed; observing and performing in all points such instructions as you shall receive under the hands of the said Lords and others of our Privy-Council, or the more part of them, concerning the rendring up and delivery of the said Town. And we do further give you full power and authority, and by these presents do charge and command you, for us and in our name to discharge and set free all the subordinate Officers, Captains and souldiers under your charge, of that oath and trust which heretofore they have taken for the keeping and preserving of that Town and Castle to our use and service; and for that purpose to make such Declaration, Proclamation, and other signification of our Royal pleasure, commandment and ordinance in that behalf, as in your wisdom you shall think fit; and these our Letters-Patents, or the inrollment or exemplification thereof shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. In witness, &c. Witness our self at *Westminster*, the 22 day of *May* in the 14 year of our reign of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the 49.

Countess

Countess of Nottingham to the Danish Ambassador.

SIR,

I Am very sorry this occasion should have been offered me by the King your Master, which makes me troublesome to you for the present. It is reported to me by men of honour, the great wrong the King of the Danes hath done me, when I was not by to answer for my self: For if I had been present, I would have letten him know how much I scorn to receive that wrong at his hands. I need not to urge the particular of it, for the King himself knows it best. I protest to you Sir, I did think as honorably of the King your Master, as I did of my own Prince; but now I perswade my self there is as much baseness in him as can be in any man: For although he be a Prince by birth, it seems not to me that there harbours any Princely thought in his breast; for either in Prince or Subject, it is the basest that can be to wrong any woman of honour: I deserve as little that name he gave me, as either the mother of himself or of his children; and if ever I come to know what man hath informed your Master so wrongfully of me, I should do my best for putting him from doing the like to any other: but if it hath come by the tongue of any woman, I dare say she would be glad to have companions. So leaving to trouble you any further, I rest, Your friend

M. NOTTINGHAM.

Sir Charles Cornwallis Liger in Spain, to the Spanish King, July 23. 1608.

YOur Majesty hath shewed the sincerity of your Royal heart in applying remedy to many inconveniences and injustice offered by your Ministers to the King my masters subjects in their goods and bodies, and therein have performed not only what belongeth to your Kingly dignity, but also what might be expected from a Prince so zealous of justice and of so good intention. It resteth that now I beseech you to cast your Royal eyes upon another extreme injustice offered not only to their bodies and goods, but to their very souls; who being by your Majesties

jesties agreement confirmed with your oath to live within these your Kingdoms free from molestation for matter of opinion and conscience, except in matters of scandal to others, are here laid hold on and imprisoned by your Majesties Officers of Inquisition continually upon every light occasion of private information of some particular persons of their own Country, who being fugitives out of their own houses, and having according to the nature of our people removed not only their bodies, but their hearts from the soil that bred them, and from their brethren that were nourished with them, do here seek to grace themselves by professing and teaching the observations of the Romish Church; and that not out of any zeal, but as plainly appeareth by many of their actions, out of malice and envy. By the Commissioners authorized by both your Majesties for the agreeing of the Peace, it was clearly discerned, that if upon private or particular informations his Majesties vassals here should be questioned for matter of Religion, it was not possible that they should exercise any commerce in these kingdoms, where they should be no one moment assured either of their goods or liberties. It was therefore provided that they should in no sort be impeached but in case of scandal; and that scandal, with your Majesties favour, must be understood to grow out of some publike action, not out of private opinion or single conscience; for if otherwise, very vain and inutile had been that provision. How the word *scandal* is in the most usual and common sense to be understood, is in no books more evident then in the Divine Scriptures themselves. Our Saviour, in regard of his publike teaching of the Gospel, and the abolishing of the Law-Ceremonial, was said to be to both houses of *Israel* a stone of scandal. The sin of *David*, if it had lain covered in his own heart, or been committed in private, should not have been either published or punished as a scandal to the enemies of God. *St. Paul* himself declareth, that his own eating of flesh offered to Idols could not be an offence, but only his eating before others of weak conscience whereby to give the scandal. Besides, I humbly beseech your Majesty consider how fitly that of the Apostle *Quis es qui judicis alium servum*, may be applied to those Officers of the Inquisition attempting to lay hands on the subjects of another Prince your Majesties confederate, offering none offence to the Laws, or publike prejudice to their profession: yea, in divers parts of your Majesties dominions the subjects of my Master have suffered this restraint. The Inquisitor-Generall lately deceased, who in all his actions shewed himself a considerate Minister, and carefull in regard of your Majesties honour of the observing of what you have capitulated, upon my complaint never failed to give the remedy that in justice I required. He being now with God,

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and one of my Sovereigns subjects having been long without cause detained by the Inquisitors in *Lisbon*, and another of good account, a man moderate and temperate in all his actions, lately apprehended by that Office in *Almonte*, and restrained in their prison at *Sivil*: I am commanded from his Majesty, and importuned by my Country-men, who all with one voice complain and protest that they dare not longer continue their commerce without present order for remedy of so extream and perillous an injustice, do beseech your Majesty that you will be pleased not only to give present order for the release of those that without scandal are known for the present in your prisons, but also that in time to come the true intention of that Article be observed, which is, That without known offence and scandal the King my Masters subjects be not molested. The accomplishment of this (considering how much it imports your Majesty in honour, your Majesty and the Archduke having in that Article in no other sort then in all the rest covenanted by especial words, that your selves would provide that in no case but only in giving scandal to others, the subjects of my Sovereign should be troubled for their consciences) I cannot but expect from so just and sincere a Prince: And therefore will not trouble your Majesty with more words; but offering my self in all things within my power to your Majesties service, I remain with a desire to be reckoned in the number of your Majesties humble and affectionate servants;

C. C.

*July 23 filo novo, 1608.**Sir Charls Cornwallis to the Spanish King, Jan. 16. 1608.*

THe largeness and liberality of your Majesties Royall hand being such, that it hath made your Greatness and Munificence of so much note through most parts of this world; I assure my self it is far removed from the thoughts of your Princely heart to straiten in matter of Justice, that so naturally and necessarily belongeth to your Kingly Office: your Majesty hath been pleased to refer to the Constable, the Duke of *Infantafque*, and two of the Regents of your Councell of *Arragon*, the understanding and determining of the extream and barbarous usage, outrage and spoyl committed by ships set out in course under the commission, & at the charge of your Majesties Viceroy of *Sardinia*, and his son-in-law *Don Lewis de Calatana*, and others by their procurement: those Lords and others there authorized by that Commission,

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very nobly and justly desiring that of the spoyl committed there might be made intire satisfaction, gave order divers months since; but your Majesties Viceroy adding to his former offence, contempt of your Majesties authority, hath not onely disobeyed in his own person, but contradicted and withstood in others the accomplishment of your commandments; it seemeth that God is pleased for the good of your Majesties Estate and Government to disvizard that man, and make apparent to the world how unfit he is to be trusted with your command of so great importance, whose covetous and ungodly condition is come to such height, as hath drawn him not onely to spoil unlawfully, and so barbarously to use the subjects of so great a King your confederate, and thereby to hazard a breach of the amity between your Majesties so necessary for both your Estates, and so utile to the whole Commonwealth of Christendom, but also to neglect and contemn the authority of your Majesty his own Sovereign, to whom, besides the obligation of his naturall allegiance, he is so infinitely bound for preferring and trusting him with a matter of so great consequence and dignity. By this paper inclosed your Majesty shall understand the manner of proceeding of the King my Master against such of his subjects as commit the like crimes and outrage against any of yours, and thereby conceive what my said Sovereign expecteth of your Majesty in this and the like, and what I am commanded in conformity thereof to require, which is, that there be no proceeding in so clear and plain a case, by way of proceesse or suit in Law, which in this kingdom as by experience is known, are immortall; but that according to the sixth Article of the Peace, and the most Christian and just example shewed by my Sovereign, who so punctually and conscionably in all things observeth with your Majesty, you will be pleased that there be not onely an intire and immediate satisfaction to the parties, but that as well your said Viceroy, and *Don Lewis* his son-in-law, as all others their aiders, partners, and receivers in that crime may be criminally proceeded against, and suffer such punishment as so enorm and unlawfull actions have justly deserved: The performance of this (considering with what patience the King my Master out of his love to your Majesty, notwithstanding the daily complaints and importunities of the parties, & the generall exclamation of other his subjects, who hold it rather agreeable with his honor and Kingly Office, not so long to permit unsatisfied or unpunished so intollerable an outrage, hath more then three whole years attended it) I cannot but expect from so just and pious a Prince without further delay or protraction of time. *Jan. 16. novo stilo. 1608.*

Sir Charls Cornwallis to the Spanish King.

WEll knoweth your Majesty in your Royall wisdom, how necessary to Kings is the conservation of authority and respect to their Kingly dignities; as also that the greatest and most absolute precept of Justice, is to do to others what we would be done unto our selves: How religiously & punctually the King my master hath observed these unto your Majesty, hath appeared by many demonstrations, and not the least in the deniall he made to *Antonio de Perez* to abide in his Kingdom, or to have access to his person; onely out of a conceit he had, that he came with a mind determined to disauthorize your Majesty in his speeches, or to make offer of some practise against your estates in his overtures. Your Majesties own Royall and gratefull inclination I know to be such, as you are not without desire to pay my Sovereign with the like equivalent retribution: but with your Majesties pardon and favour, duty inforceth me plainly to tell you, that the Ministers of these your Kingdoms shew not the like affection; where not one, but many my of Sovereigns worst affected subjects are daily received, cherished and honored with entertainments in your service. Were that sort of people contented onely to abuse your Majesties Kingly munificence and Christian charity, and to deceive your Ministers with their falsified genealogies, and with putting the *Don* upon many whose fathers and Ancestors were so base and beggerly, as they never arrived to be owners of so much as convenient apparell to cover their nakedness, it were much more tolerable: but when having here tasted the warmth of your Majesties liberall and pious hand, they become furnished in such ample and abundant manner, as their poor and miserable ancestors durst never so much as dream of, like *Aesops* serpent they turn their venomous stings towards the bosoms that gave them heat and life, and endeavour with all the force and Art they have, to give cause of distaste, and by consequence of division between your Majesty and your faithfullest and most powerful Confederate, in uneven payment for your Majesties so great and gracious favour. With generalities for the present I will not deal, as he whose cares and desires have ever been to soften, and not to sharpen. Two *Irish* in your Court, the one a son, as by his own Countrymen is generally reported, either to a vagabond Rimer, a generation of people in that Countrey of the worst account; or to give him his best title, of a poore Mechanicall Surgeon. The other descended rather of
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more base and beggerly parents; neglecting what by the Laws of God they ow to their own Sovereign, and as little regarding their obligation to your Majesty, who from the dust of the earth and miserable estate hath made them what they are, notwithstanding that they cannot be ignorant of the strait charge and commandements your Majesty hath given, that all due respect be had to the King my Master, and his Ministers and subjects; the first in irreverend and irrespective behaviour towards my self and some of mine; the other in obstinate defending his companions unmannerlinefs, delivering by way of direct asseveration, that I am an heretique, and such an one as to whom it is not lawfull under the pain of deadly sin, to use any courtesie or reverence whatsoever, have of late miscarried themselves, as I hold it not agreeable either with what I ow to the King I serve, or the honor I have to represent his person, to passe over with silence, but to present it instantly to your Majesty. The names of the parties are, *Magg Ogg*, a Sollicitor (as here is said) for the fugitive Earle of *Tyrone*, condemned by the verdict of his own Contreymen, besides his delict of Treason, of thirteen several murders. The other names himselfe *Condiso Mauricio*, and is here (as I am informed) allowed for a — for his vagabonding Countreymen, hath put on the habit of a Priest, and hath of your Majesty thirty crowns a moneth in Pension. The parties and the offences I have made known unto your Secretary of State, and I cannot doubt your Majesty in conformity of what the King my master hath by so many arguments demonstrated towards your Majesty and your Ministers, will command such exemplary punishment to be made of them, as a behaviour so undecent, a slander and reproach so intolerable, and an opinion so desperate and dangerous, and so contrary to what your Majesty and all those of your Councell, Nobility and Clergy do practife, do worthily merit, &c. *Feb. 1608.*

Sir Charls Cornwallis to the Spanish King.

YOur Majesty to whom God hath given so large an Empire, & so much exceeding that of other Princes, and whom he hath blessed with so great an inclination to piety, clemency, and other vertues becoming your Royall dignity and Person, will I know hold it evil befeeming so rare a greatness, to come behind any King how pious & vertuous soever, either in the observance of the laws of mutual charity and friendship, or in love or zeal to justice, which to all Kingdoms and Governments gives the assured st

assuredst foundation; and in defect whereof by the Spirit of God himself, Kingdoms are said to be translated from one Nation to another. The first King that God gave unto his people, he elected of higher stature then the rest by the shoulders upwards, signifying thereby how much Kings are to strive to exceed and excell in the height and measure of vertue and justice; also how fit it is for them to over-look with their authorities and providences the highest head of their Ministers, and to observe how they guide themselves.

By the contents of this paper inclosed, your Majesty shall perceive the Christian and Kingly care the King my Master hath had, not onely of the observances of the Articles of Peace since the same between your Majesties were concluded; but of the punctuall accomplishment of the true Laws of amity and friendship, which are more surely and expressively imprinted in Royall and Noble hearts, then possibly they can be written or characterized by any pen in paper. In your Majesties Kingdoms (pardon I humbly beseech you if I speak plainly) much contrary to that example, the King my Masters subjects suffer all manner of spoils, oppressions and miseries, and are (as well I may term them) made a very prey to the hungry and greedy; your Viceroyes and others enter their ships under cover and colour of Peace and Justice, finding them rich, they lay crimes to their charge, whereof there appears neither proof nor probability; yet serve their pretences to possess them of their goods, & to put the poor Merchants to a demand in Law: wherein were truth alone the ballance they should be weighed by, (though that form of redress were far short of the immediate remedy provided by the King my Sovereign for your Majesties subjects) yet were it much more allowable and to be endured; but having here complained two whole years without any course at all taken for redress, as in the cause with the Duke of *Feriat* three intire years, as in that with the Viceroy of *Sardinia* one year and more, as in that of his Majesties servant *Adrian Thibaut*, taken and spoiled by your Majesties Generall *Don Luis*; as in that of *Estry* and *Bispich*, imprisoned and bereaved of their goods by *Iuan de Vendoza Alcalde* of *Madrid*, we are after so long a time spent in misery and charge countervailing a great part of the value of the goods taken from us, inforced still to all punctualities and extremities of forms of law, and to abide the uttermost perill of all advantages that by the inventions, wits & tongues of Lawyers can be devised, to obscure and hide the light and right of truth. The false colour given by every of these, and the barbarous cruelty used to the parties, would require too long and tedious a declaration. It satisfieth that none of their pretences are proved; nay, which is more they are so false and fabulous as to no indifferent understanding they appear so much as probable.

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My humble desire is, your Majesty would be pleased to pass your own Royal eyes upon this paper ; and therefore to affect all possible brevity, I will pass unto your Majesties other inferior ministers of your Ports, of which few there are (those in *Biscay*, and some in *Portugal* only excepted) where we have not divers oppressions, imprisonments, and unjust imbargements, in *Sivil* especially ; whereof forty several suits, and as many false sentences given, raised and pursued by a man now dead, and therefore in charity left unnamed. We have hitherto in your Majesties Council of war (where before those noble Lords all passed by the equal line of Justice) not failed in my remembrance in the overthrowing of any, save one mistaken that passed in a wrong name, and another concerning merchandise that had their manufacture in *Embsden*, (whereof I suppose those Lords were not rightly informed) only excepted. In that Court I must acknowledge we have had redress, but yet with your Majesties favour a miserable one ; our gain being whether we shall be owners of our own or not, our expences and charges certain, and the time without measure large, whereby many have been undone, some dead in prison in *England* for want of what was unjustly detained from them here. Yet neither the false Judges in *Sivil* nor Promoters ever chastised, or for any thing that I yet have understood, so much as ever reprehended or found fault with.

I haste to a conclusion, fearing lest I should dwell too long in a matter so unfavoury and displeasing to your Majesties pittifull ears and Christian heart, so much of it self disposed to all clemency and piety. I will for the next resort to the ships, cordage, corn, and other victuals and provisions taken from the King my Sovereigns subjects for your Majesties own services, and the relief of the extreme necessity in your Gallies, and Garrisons of the Navy, of whom some have been enforced for want of payment of their monies to send their ships home unfreighted, a loss extreme to poor Merchants that live by trade and time, to repair to this Court, and here remain some of them 14 moneths, and others two years and more, till their very charges had eaten out a great part of what was due unto them, and in the end recover only their own without any relief or recompence either for their expences, times lost, or damages. I will only instance two, because their causes are most strange and pittifull, and yet unsatisfied ; the one named *Thomas Harrison*, and the other *Richard Morris* : The first served your Majesty with his ship, till the same with one of his sons and all of his men were swallowed with the seas, and hath been here more then four years suing for his recompence and salary, recommended by the King my Sovereign, by Letters from your Majesties Ambassadors in *England*, and by my self all that long time

time furthered with my earnest solicitation; which hath begot infinite promises, but to this day no manner of payment or performance: The other, who sometimes hath been a man of wealth and reputation, and falling into great poverty, served your Majesty with all that in the world he was worth, and all that in value above 6000 Ryals. I blush I protest to think of it, and my heart is grieved to mention it to so great a King, of whose liberality and magnificence the world taketh so much notice. His right and his necessity being well known unto your Officers, he hath been more then three years and a half fed with hopes, and put off with schedules and sending from one Port to another for the receipt of his mony, till he hath indebted himself the most part of the sum, and at present wanteth wherewith both to feed and cover him. Now at last he is promised payment out here of your Royal chests, but after so many ceremonies and circumstances to be performed with your Officers in other parts, as God knows hunger may end the poor man before they begin to satisfie him. By all this will plainly appear to your Majesty, that your Majesties subjects are by the favour and Christian justice of the King my master entred into the new Testament and law of Grace, having restitution and remedy without the delays of ceremony and formality; and we still remain under the old, and tyed in all things to the hand-writing of the Law, to the burthenous circumstances and intolerable dilatory formalities of proceeding in this your Kingdom, and what else your unpittifull Ministers will out of uncharitable and unsensible minds of other mens harms charge and impose upon us.

Well doth your Majesty conceive, that would the King my Master wink at the like courses to be taken by his subjects and ministers with such of yours as they might meet upon the seas, the English are not of so little invention, but they could devise as good colours and pretences; nor their Lawyers of so small skill and so much conscience, but they could form and protract suits; nor the ships of *England* so weakened and lessened, but they could equal and surmount their losses. I have out of mine own humble affection to your Majesty, out of my generall and ever continuing desire to hold firm the ancient amity so necessary for your own estates, and utile for the whole common-weal of Christendom, out of the force of duty I owe to my King and Country, thus far adventured to unburthen my soul and thoughts, not doubting but your Majesties magnanimous and Christian heart will be moved as well in desire to equal the pious and immutable example of the King my Master, as in a just compassion of a Nation now confederate with you, and that so gladly would entertain any cause to love and serve you, to give present remedy to those wofull and intolerable oppressions; and that since
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you have firmed and consented by your Articles of Peace of new orders (which being confirmed by your oath stand now in force of Laws) you would be pleased in like manner to give them a new form of indilatory execution, conformable to that of the King my Sovereign, &c.

*King James to the University of Cambridge,
Mar. 4. 1616.*

*JACOBU S Dei gratia Magna Britannia, Francie & Hibernia Rex,
Fidei defensor, &c. Academia Cantabrigie communi salutem.*

SI jus civitatis impetret à nobis Cantabrigia, veremur ne amula urbis potentia crescente minuaturs Academia securitas, sat erit apud nos metus vestri judicium fecisse, nec enim tam vobis convenit Academia periculum deprecari quam nobis, sponte nostra quicquid in speciem illi noxium sit avertere. Glorietur urbs illa se à Majoribus nostris electam doctrinarum sedem, ingeniorum officium, sapientia palestram. Quicquid his titulis addi potest nimis, & non honestatur plebeia Civitatis appellatione Musarum domicilium vel sane literatorum dicatur Civitas, vel quod in villa nostra ville & in incolitarum tegitur celebritate. Hac ejus fuerint privilegia Academia dignitatem comiter observare (cujus frequentia facta & seipsa major affluentia bonarum artium studiosos amice excipere quorum congressu dilata est) Literatorum deinceps honori ancillari unde hac illa nata est felicitas, ha artes quibus crevit tenenda, non aucupandam titulorum novitas incerti eventus faceffat popularis vocabuli fastus, unde certa oriatur amulationis necessitas qua eo turpior urbi est futura quo majori erga Academiam obstrictam & reverentiam, nolumus sacrum illum musarum asylum minuti pratoris ense temerari nec strepere tetrica edicta, ubi septem geminus vestri Chori auditur concentus satis & in vetera purpura invidia nova pompa tam illi futura, & supervacua quam vobis suspecta. In nostra solvis tutela & post Deum opt. max. Alma scientiarum Mater nostro fovetur scepro indefessa illius fecunditas non abortiet ad pratoris gladii tericulum nullum honoris titulum Cantabrigie indulgemus, qui cum Academia sollicitudine conjunctus sit. Valete. Datum è Palatio nostro Westmonast. 4 Calend. Mar. 1616.

JACOBUS REX.

*Mr. Ruthen to the Earle of Northumberland.**My Lord,*

IT may be interpreted discretion sometimes to wink at private wrongs, especially for such a one as my self, that have a long time wrastled with a hard Fortune, and whose actions, words and behaviour are continually subject to the censure of a whole State; yet not to be sensible of publique and Nationall disgrace, were stupidity and baseness of mind: For no place, nor time, nor State can excuse a man from performing that duty and obligation wherein Nature hath tied him to his Countrey and to himself. This I speak in regard of certain infamous verses lately by your Lordships means dispersed abroad to disgrace my Countrey and my self, and to wrong and stain by me the honor of a worthy and vertuous Gentlewoman, whose unspotted and immaculate vertue your self is so much more bound to admire and uphold, in that having dishonorably assaulted it, you could not prevail. But belike, my Lord, you dare do any thing but that which is good and just. Think not to bear down these things either by greatness, or denyall; for the circumstances that prove them are so evident, and the veil wherewith you would shadow them, is too transparant. Neither would I have you flatter your self, as though, like another *Giges*, you could passe in your courses invisable. If you owe a spight to any of my countrey-men, it is a poor revenge to rail upon me in verse: or if the repulse of your lewd desire at the Gentlewomans hands, hath inflamed and exasperated your choler against her, it was never known that to refuse *Northumberlands* unlawfull lust was a crime for a Gentlewoman deserving to have her honour called in question. For her part, I doubt not but her own unspotted vertue will easily wipe out any blot which your malice would cast upon it; and for me and my Countrey-men (know my good Lord); that such blowes as come in time, are too weak to reach or harm us. I am asham'd in your Lordships behalfe for these proceedings, and sorry that the world must now see how long it hath been mistaken in *Northumberlands* spirit: and yet who will not commend your wisdom in chusing such a safe course to wrong a woman & a prisoner; the one of which cannot, and the other by nature & quality of the place, may not right his own wrongs. Wherefore (setting aside the most honorable order of the Garter, and potest-ing that whatsoever is here said, is no way intended to the Nobility and Gentry of *England* in generall, which I doubt not but will condemn this
your

your dishonorable dealing, and for which both my self, and I dare truly say all my Countrymen shall be even as ready to sacrifice our bloods as for our own mother *Scotland*) I do not only in regard of our own persons affirm, that whatsoever in those infamous Verses is contained is utterly false and untrue, and that your self hath dealt most dishonorably, unworthily, and basely, but this I'll ever maintain. If these words sound harshly in your Lordships ear, blame your self, since your self forgetting your self have taught others how to dishonour you: And remember that though Nobility make a difference of persons, yet Injury acknowledgeth none.

PATRICK RUTHEN.

Sir Henry Yelvertons submission in the Star-chamber.

My Lords,

I Humbly beseech you to think that I stand not here either to outface the Court, or to defend this cause otherwise then justly I may; only I desire in mine own person to second the submission which hath been opened by my Councel: for hitherto hath nothing been opened unto you, but that which hath passed under the advised pen of others, and hitherto hath appeared from my self neither open nor inward acknowledgment.

My Lords, it may seem strange to the hearers, that against a Bill so sharpened I should abruptly fall upon a submission or confession, whereby I may seem to bow down my neck to the stroke. But my Lords, in this I weighed not my self, but I did it to amplify the honour and mercy of his Majesty, from whom I may say Clemencie springs as the blood that runs in his own veins. For, my Lords, when this Charter was sometime questioned, & divers of my Lords here present had out of their great wisdoms discovered that shame in it (which I must here confess I did not then see) & had related the same to his Majesty, it pleased his Maj. out of his great favour to me his unworthy servant to send me this message by two great honorable persons here present, and therefore under your Lordships favour I think not fit to hide so great a favour of his Maj. from the eyes of the people, who offered to my choice either to submit to himself in private, or defend here openly; and when I saw I fell into such faithful hands, I remember my answer then was, that the offer was gracious, and the choice was easie, and his mercy free. After came this Information against

me: I took it but as trial whether I would make his Majesty King of my confidence, or not: And though there was offered unto me and my Councel such a way of defence as I might have escaped, yet I protest I did reject it, because I would not distrust his Majesties mercy to let go the anchor-hold I had thereof; and whatsoever becomes of me, I protest I shall still honour the King, though I go lame to my grave. I humbly confesse the manifold errors of this Charter to your Lordships, wherein I have miscarried; and I beseech his Majesty and your Lordships to think they are rather crept in unawares, then usher'd in by consent. The errors are of divers natures, some of negligence, some of ignorance, some of misprision; I mistook many things, I was improvident in some things, too credulous in all things. But I who was chosen, when I had so much provoked his Majesty by mine unexperienced years, and having since found so many favours from his Majesties hands, and this day having served him full seven years, who this day hath translated me from a low estate unto a place whereof I enjoy now only the name, and now since hath so much quickned and enlightned me by his gracious countenance, and assured me by his daily favours to make me to depend upon him; and that I should deliberately and determinately take any flowers from his Crown to place them on the heads of others, or to betray his Majesties interest into the hands of others, I hope his Majesty will vouchsafe me so much favour not to value me at so low a rate, as to think these things came in *de industria*: For if I had felt any such Echo arise in my breast, I protest I would have laid hands on my self, and judged my self unworthy of any society.

My Lords, the corruption of my hands are far inferior to the corruption of the heart; and the hand that runs wilfully into error, works meerly from the corruption of the heart, and that makes it the more inexcusable, as the bleeding of a wound inwardly ever becomes mortal; and were I conscious to my self, I would not have any color of excuse. I thank his Majesties Councel that howsoever these hands were at first mistrusted, yet since they are not at all misdoubted, nor the least corruption laid to my charge. But this doth most grieve me, that my faithfulness to his Majesty should be suspected: And I humbly desire upon my knees, that his Clemencie in this case may stop the issue of his Justice; that though a long time his face hath been hid, yet now at length his mercy will break through the clouds to support me that am now fallen. I lay my self at his Majesties feet to do with me as it pleaseth him, and humbly desire his Majesty would take me to his own sentence. I never thought of my self otherwise then clay in his Majesties hands, to mould me to honour or dishonour. When I look and behold this solemnity and spectacle
about

about me, I make no other account of it then *Pempe mortis*; and such a Prince as he is, knows that Life and Reputation are equall, if the last be not the greatest. I know your Lordships have such power, and his Majesty takes such pleasure in you, you are so dear in his eyes, that he can deny you nothing, and therefore I would desire you that you would be suiters in my behalf, that his favour might once again shine upon me. I know his grace and clemency sleepeeth, if I be not unworthy to partake, and the rather because the River that did run another way, is now turned into the Sea again, and the Charter given up, surrendred and cancelled. I know much life might be added to the sinewes of my happinesse by your Lordships intercessions for me; in vouchsafing whereof I shall pledge a perpetuall assurance of better service for the time to come, and shall be bound and engaged to every one of your Lordships so that my desire is, that his Majesty might first be acquainted with this submission before you proceed into the merits of the cause, remaining still a prisoner to his Justice, knowing his Majesty may if he please, turn me to vanity.

Ferdinand *the second, Emperour, to the Catholique King.*

Most gracious King, my most loving Nephew,

FAther *Jacintus* comes over to your Court to negotiate with your Majesty in the Popes name, about a business much concerning the conservation of our holy Faith, and consequently the support of our Family, as your Majesty shall understand of the said Father, to whom I refer my self, as also to *Don Balthazar de Zuniga*, to whom I have written more distinctly, fearing to be over-tedious to your Majesty, and being well assured how well your Majesty stands inclined to either of these points.

Ferdinand

Ferdinand the Emperour to Don Balthazar de Zuniga,
October 15. 1621.

To the Honorable and sincerely beloved Don Balthazar de Zuniga, Cousin
and Councellour of State to the most excellent and Catholique King
of Spain.

Honorable and sincerely beloved,

WHat my mind and purpose is touching the translating of the Electorship to the Duke of *Bavaria*, according to the promise I made him, and wherefore I think that business so necessary and profitable, as for *Germany* in generall, so particularly for securing our House from all attempts of Heretiques, as his Holiness exhorts me not to be further delayed: You shall understand as well by conference with Father *Jacinthus*, whom his Holiness hath for that purpose addressed unto me, his Majesty of *Spain* my Nephew, and other Catholique Princes of *Germany*, as by these ensuing reasons, whereof the principall are, That when I repeat from the beginning the whole course of my Reign, and the difficulties through which I have attained my Kingdoms and Provinces, I behold with reverence the admirable providence of God over me, which makes me the more bound to repose my trust in him, and not to omit any occasion which may tend to the advancement of his glory, and the honor of so admirable tried providence: and therefore that I should use that most notable victory to the honor of God, and extirpation of all seditious factions, which are nourished chiefly among the *Calvinists*, and that I should withdraw my self from that judgement that the Prophet threatens to the King of *Israel*, *Because thou hast dismissed a man worthy of death, thy Son shall be for his soule*. The Palatine keeps now in *Holland*, exiled not onely from the Kingdom which he rashly attempted, but despoiled almost of all his own Territories, expecting as it were the last cast of Fortune; whom, if by an impious kind of commiseration and subtile Petitions, I be perswaded to restore to his Electorall dignity, and nourish in my bosome as a troden half living snake, what can I expect less then a deadly stinging? For it is in vain for me to think that he should be able to discern the greatness of such a benefit: For the Politicians saying is true, *Ultionem quaeris, gratiam oneri habere*; especially since the injuries he did me are so heynous,

his

his projects so subtle, that although I should overcome him with Christian charity, yet I should never be able to take him from the guilt of his offences, and make him soundly faithfull unto me; but he will always gape at all occasions whereby he may free himself from fear of his ill deservings, and cover his own prostituted honor with new attempts. Add hereunto the *Calvinists* institution, of whose Sect the proper genius is to hold nothing either fraud or wickedness, which is undertaken for the Religion; no sanctity of oath, nor fear of dishonour hinders them. From such an one, what caution can either the house of *Austria*, or other Catholique Princes with whom he is no less in enmity, because for Religion, as because they are interessed in the war, receive? The King of *England* will be engaged, but of the same Religion; nor is there any thing more easie then when there is occasion of perpetrating any wickedness, to palliate it with a pretext of a breach of the League. Histories are fraughted with examples; in some there are no cautions sufficient in such a business: then to drive him where he cannot hurt, all other means are frail, and he which once believed is despised. It is likewise a consideration of no less moment, that the *Palatine* being restored will draw all his power and policie; as hitherto, so hereafter, where he thinks he can do most hurt, and that most easily, to wit, to *Bethlem-Gabor* and the *Turks*; whom he hath already incited to hostility against me, and will never cease hereafter to instigate the *Calvinists* intire hopes in them. These, untill they recover breath, and recollect their forces, they endeavour to disarm and exhaust me of monies, ranging in my territories as they have done hitherto by fire and sword. But if with them also, whom notwithstanding I cannot trust alike, I should make peace, what conditions will *Gabor* who remains yet unconquered require, if I should restore the *Palatine* (already conquered) to his Electoral dignity?

Therefore since long before God granted me that famous victory, I firmly forecast with my self, that the *Palatine* could not be restored to his Electoral dignity without the extreme danger of the Catholiques and my house, I offered freely on my own motion, but being directed questionless by God, the Electorship to the Duke of *Bavaria*, a most eager Defender of the Catholique cause, whose territories on the other side lie as a Rampire between me and other Princes of *Germany*; and since I made so good use of his help, and so profitable in the recovery of my Kingdoms and Provinces, and continue yet to this day, time it self more then the said Duke doth cry out that I should accomplish my promise without further delay, and by translation of the Electorship take away quite all hopes from the *Palatine* and them that sollicite us so importu-

importunately for a restitution, that we may be freed from all molestation; which thing, since it needs the help of his Majesty of *Spain*, although I know his Majesty be propense enough of himself to all things which appertain to the honor of God, and the security of our House, yet I thought good to admonish you of this occasion, lest this opportunity of establishing of our Religion and Family escape, which I conceive might conveniently be done by you. Neither do I suppose his Majesty to be ignorant, that it was alwayes judged of our Ancestors, that the House of *Austria*, which by Gods permission doth now signiorize far and neer upon the earth, to have its chief foundation here in *Germany*, which is the more to be defended, the nearer its ruine depends thereupon. In times past this House hath had proof of many adversaries to its greatness, as the Histories under *Maximilian* the first, *Charles* the first, *Ferdinand* the second, and *Rodolf* the second do shew: the perfidiousness of *Holland* against his Majesties Grandfather *Philip* the second, fetcht her food from the Palatinate, neither can his Majesty ever reduce the rebellious *Hollanders* to obedience, unlesse his root be pluckt up; which onely motive, besides these which I alledged before, might justly induce him not to suffer a fallen enemy to rise and resume (as his stomach will never fail him) strength again.

But albeit it is not to be dissembled that the *Lutheran* Princes, especially the Elector of *Saxony*, will not approve haply of this translation, because they fear it conduceth too much to the corroborating of the Catholic Cause: Nevertheless, since he cannot accuse that act of *Charles* the fifth, who for a far lighter cause deprived *John Frederick* of the Electorship, and confer'd it on *Maurice* this Dukes great Uncle; and perceiving that all the Councils of the *Calvinists* do aim to bring in the Turk, he will not condemn his translation: For no less is the *Lutherans* hatred against the *Calvinists*, as the Catholics and they think less danger do proceed from the later. It is to be hoped therefore, that the Elector of *Saxony*, and other *Lutheran* Princes, when they see the business brought to this point, will not so far disapprove thereof, as to put themselves in Arms; which I shall shortly understand of the most excellent Archduke *Charles* my brother, who is for this cause to treat with the Elector of *Saxony*. And these motives as they are of great consequence, so I imagine you, which are daily of his Majesties Council, have pondered them as diligently as my self, and therefore that you will omit nothing that is pertinent to establish this business, whereby we obtain the long and wished fruit thereof, which is the propagation of the honor of Almighty God through the Empire, and the augmentation of the common safety, Family and Dignity.

Beloved

Beloved *Don Balazar*, I understand that there was a motive of great consideration omitted in my Letter; to wit, that if we had more countenance of his Catholique Majesty then we have at this present, the Empire should always remain in the hands of Catholiques, and so according to reason in our House, to whose advancement the Duke of *Bavaria* will willingly concur in recognition of such a benefit, being promoted by an Emperour of that House, to so eminent and high a dignity as in our letters.

Vienna Octob. 15. 1621.

*King James to Ferdinand the Emperour concerning the
Palatinate. Novemb. 12. 1621.*

IAMES by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. wisheth health and constant peace unto the most mighty and invincible Prince *Ferdinando*, by the same grace elected Roman Emperour, King of Germany, Hungary and Bohemia, Archduke of Austria, &c. our loving friend and cousin.

Most mighty and invincible Prince, Brother, Cousin, and speciall loving-Friend; It is not unknown unto the whole world, much less to your Imperiall Majesty, how earnestly we have hitherto sought and endeavoured as well by the diligence of our Ambassadors whom we have sent, as by the intercession of the chief German Princes, the appeasing of those *Bohemian* wars ever since they first began, and with what ardent zeal and affection we have so much hunted after the desire of peace: Let it not therefore seem strange unto any man, that we take it ill, that all the very time when we were (to the uttermost of our power) treating of peace, and giving our best furtherance for the overture of wholesome means to effect it; even then notwithstanding, we found clean contrary effects to ensue thereupon; whereat we much marvelled, seeing the Treaty was in hand, and already begun on all sides: as namely among the rest, that our son-in-law was wholly despoiled and robbed of his hereditary patrimony that remained unto him, excepting the flower Palatinate, which was all by commandment of your Imperiall Majesty, taken and possessed by the Duke of *Bavaria*, according as himself confessed, with strong hand and force of Arms, and that for such reasons as are meerly new, and such as the like were never hitherto once heard of. That notwithstanding it plainly appeareth by the answer given unto
our

our Ambassador, that your Imperial Majesty had caused the suspension of that Ban or prescription in those Countries, yet did your Imperial Majesty permit the taking of Arms again in hand: which also after the same your Imperial Majesties answer, was yet again likewise commanded to be done in the Lower *Palatinate*, whereby there hath therein been since raised a grievous and cruel war, and most part of the Country taken in by the *Spaniards* powerfull strength. But as we diligently observed those things, we cleerly see what great trouble and misery hath been occasioned by this our great patience and long delaying, forbearing and doubtfulness, which without all doubt may be hereafter further occasioned, and which may perhaps prove heavier then the chief reasons of this misery it self. And therefore we hold it best and most expedient that your Imperial Majesty do at length put a period to this most unhappy business: And for that end and purpose have thought good at this time to propound what we prescribe our Son in law on th'one part to perform towards your Imperial Majesty, which we have always counselled and exhorted our Son in law to do, nor will we so much as in the least once doubt of the contrary and adverse success therein, but are perswaded that your Imperial Majesty will be most graciously moved to receive our Son in law into grace and favour, to redeliver unto him his hereditary lands and titles which he had enjoyed before those *Bohemian wars*, and fully to restore him to his former honours and dignities. In regard whereof the Count *Palatine* shall perform unto your Imperial Majesty as followeth.

1. He shall for himself and his Son wholly renounce and acquit all pretence of right and claim unto the Crown of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Countries thereof.
2. He shall from henceforward yield all constant due devotion unto the Imperial Majesty, as do other obedient Princes Electors of the Empire.
3. He shall upon his knee crave pardon of the Imperial Majesty.
4. He shall not hereafter any manner of way either unfittingly carry or demean himself towards the Imperial Majesty, or disturb your Kingdoms or Countries.
5. He shall upon reasonable conditions reconcile himself with other his neighbour Princes and States of the Empire, and hold good friendship with them.
6. And shall really do all other like things as is above contained, and that shall be reasonable and necessary.

Which proposed Conditions if your Imperial Majesty shall please to receive and accept of, the same will be a notable testimony of your Imperial

perial Majesties goodnes and grace : which how well and acceptable it will be unto us, shall be acknowledged and shewed by our very willing service and unfeigned friendship as well towards your Imperial Majesty as towards the most renowned house of *Austria*. But if it shall fall out contrary to our expectation, that these our just demands and well-willed presentation shall not find acceptance, or after this our diligent endeavor you shall seek to delay us by the using some new tergiversation, and pretend to use that long counsel and deliberate advice of the Princes of the Empire upon these our propounded conditions, whereas notwithstanding your Imperial Majesty expressly promised in your last answer freely to declare what should be your purpose and resolution therein : So that there being no ground to the contrary (as we call God and the world to witness there is not) and being forced and constrained by the duty and natural affection which we owe and bear to our Children for the preservation of their honour and welfare, we are resolved to try the uttermost of our power for their relief ; especially seeing we sue for, desire, and would obtain and retain no new title of honour for our Son in law, but only to have again those of his own now lost, which he then had and enjoyed when we matched him with our dear and only daughter : For if in this distress we should leave our Children and their Partisans without counsel help and protection, it would be a foul stain to our honour.

Let not therefore your Imperial Majesty in regard hereof blame us at all, if we with a mighty and puissant Army by force and strong hand seek to recover that which by propounded and reasonable conditions we could not obtain for the continuance of our friendship. But for as much as it is most certain this cannot be without the great hurt and prejudice of all Christendom, the breach of publike peace, and the wounding of our contracted amity and friendship with the house of *Austria*, which we have ever hitherto by manifold testimonies uprightly, faithfully and inviolably observed : It is therefore requisite and necessary that your Majesty of your innate gracious mildness and goodness, and of that most reverent discretion wherewith you are endowed, to seek in time to meet with and prevent these so great evils likely to ensue, and use brotherly love & good will. God almighty long preserve your Imperial Majesties life, and at last so direct your heart, that sweet peace and the concord of all Christendom now rent asunder, may be recovered and again maintained.

At our Royal Residence-Town of
Royston, Novemb. 12. 1611.

JACOBUS REX.

His Imperial Majesty to King James, JAN. 14. 1621.

Constans atque eadem nobis semper fuit mens, idem desiderum, non tam
 verbis quam re ipsa demonstrandi quanti tranquillitatem in Imperio
 publicam & mutua amicitia cum vicinis Principibus, potissimum Sereni-
 tatis vestra sincere colenda studium aestimaremus. Inde si prateriti temporis
 successus de rebus in utroque Palatinatu tam superiore quam inferiore inno-
 vat. de quo literis ad nos datis Serenitas vestra conqueritur deflexisse videri
 possint, illi culpa venit omnis imputanda, quem ab improba cupiditate aliena
 regna captantem, nec divini nec humani juris respectus, nec supremi Domini
 sui reverentia, nec sacri sui-jurandi religio, nec prudentissimi Socris con-
 ciliium cohibere potuerint: imo qui iusto Dei iudicio ea acie in fugam pro-
 fligatus usque adeo obstinatione sua pertinaciter etiamnum inheret, ut
 continuis machinationibus per Jagardorfium, Mansfeldum, aliosq; cru-
 deles pacis publica perturbatores, Acharonta potius movere quam saniori-
 bus acquiescere consiliis ab usurpatoque regni nostri sisulo desistere (non
 officis per Serenitatem vestram per quam sane diligenter interpositis, sua
 ex parte quid deferens) videatur, nec ullum in hanc usque horam animi
 poenitentis signum dederit. Itaque in tractatu de pace insistendum. La uti con-
 descendamus vides Serenitas vestra ab eis quos principaliter id concernit
 quam nulla nobis causa vel occasio prabeatur. Id quidem ingenue profi-
 temur, in exulceratissimo eo negotio, cuius calamitas universum pene orbem
 involvit, eum Serenitatis vestra candorem, eam animi moderationem, &
 equitatis iusticiaq; respectum enituisse, ut nihil sit vicissim quod non ejusdem
 desiderii salva suprema auctoritate nostra Casarea, salvisq; Imperii legibus
 libenter tribuamus, qui pro innata nobis benignitate — aequisque condi-
 tionibus Arma poni & optatam afflictissima Germaniae pacem restitui,
 quam legitime executiones insisti per cades & sanguinem Christianum glo-
 riosa Domini nostro trophæa figi nunquam non maluimus. In gratiam itaque
 Serenitatis vestra, ut res ipsa deprehendat quanti nobis sit perpetuum cum
 eadem amicitia cultum novo fomite subinde revocari, licet hactenus prospe-
 ros militia nostra successus divina benignitas tribuit, acquiescimus, ut
 benevolo tractatu alma pacis redintegranda rationes opportuna ipsis, ut
 eumque in finem ad evitandum viarum temporumque dispendia nunc in eo
 sumus ut serenissima Principi Domina Elizabethæ Clara Eugenia nata,
 Infanti Hispaniarum, Archiducissa Austria, Ducissa Burgundia, Stiria,
 Carinthia, Carniola, & Wirtinburgia, & Provinciarum Belgii Bur-
 gundi-

gaudiarumq; Domina, Consobrina ac sorori nostra charissima, ut istic in aula sua, quorsum vestra quoque Serenitas si ita libnerit suos cum plena facultate ablegare poterit primum eumque proximum assequende pacis gradum cessationem ab armis aequis conditionibus nomine nostro Cesari stabilicendum permittemus, prope diem expedituri Legatum nostrum virum nobilem, qui diligentissime in gravissimo hoc negotio mentem nostram plenius aperiet, atque inde ad Serenitatem vestram animum nostrum ad redintegranda pacis studia proclivem, qui non aliter quam quibuscunque benevolentia officiis cum Serenitate vestra certare studet magis magisque testificetur, cujus interim consilia generosa prapotens Deus publico orbis commodo in felicissimos eventus disponat. Dat. Vienna, 14 Jan. 1621.

Earl of Bristol to King James.

Most gracious Sovereign, it may please your Majesty to remember, that at my coming out of *Spain* I signified unto your Majesty how far the Duke of *Lerma* had upon severall occasions intimated unto me an extraordinary desire of this King and State, not onely to maintain peace and amity with your Majesty, but to lay hold of all things that may be offered for the nearer uniting of your Majesty and your Crowns; and that from this generality he had descended often to have discourse with me of a match for the Princes Highness with the second daughter of *Spain*, assuring me, that in this King and his Ministers there was a forward disposition thereunto. But from me he received no other answer but to this effect, That I in the treaty of the former match for the late Prince, had received so strange and unexpected answer from them, & that their demands seemed so improper and unworthy, that I conceived that your Majesty had little reason to be induced again to give eare to any such overture, or that I should again enter into any such treaty, much less to be the motioner thereof: Although I would confess, that if I were fully perswaded of the sincerity of their intentions, and of a possibility of having the said match effected, I know not any thing wherein I would more willingly imploy my endeavours; but as the case now stood, I was certain, that if I should but make any such motion in *England*, I should but draw imputation of much weakness upon me there, and no whit advance the cause, for that your Majesty and your Ministers would make no other construction of the motion, but as construed to divert the Match of *France*; which was treated of, for that your Majesty who but the year before had received so displeasing and unequal

an answer, should now be perswaded that there was here so great a change, as that a match was really desired, there would now need more then ordinary assurance. But the Duke of *Lerma* continuing severall times the same profession, and telling me besides that the greatest Cases might be altered by circumstances, and that the Age of this Prince was much more proper then that of his brother; I freely let the Duke know that in case I might see that it was really desired here, and that I might be able to propound unto my Master conditions of so much advantage and certainty as might put him and his ministers out of doubt that this overture was not again revived from hence either for diversion or winning of time, I would then willingly intimate unto your Majesty the inclination and desire I found here of having a proposition for this match once again set on foot. The Duke told me he would have a further conference with me, and that he then no ways doubted to give such satisfaction as might well assure your Majesty and your Ministers, that they sincerely desired the match in generall, and would omit nothing on their side for the accomodating of particulars that might give furtherance unto it. But the very night before the Duke had appointed a meeting with me, there came a Post dispatcht out of *England* from the *Spanish* Ambassador upon the arrivall of Sir *Thomas Edmonds* into *England*, who brought word that the match with *France* was absolutely concluded, and that within few days it was to be published: Whereupon the Duke at our meeting the next morning, told me that it would be needles now to descend to any particulars in the business whereof we are to treat, since that they had newly received advertisement that the match with *France* was fully concluded. And thus for the present the matter rested untill some five or six weeks after; about which time my self was to go into *England*, and so taking leave of the Duke, he asked me whether I had not received advertisement that the match with *France* was published. I told him no, but I had certainly heard that it was not as yet fully concluded: Whereupon he intreated me, that in case I found not the *French* match in such forwardness as it could not be stayed, I would let him know of it; and that if I should see any kind of possibility that the business we had spoken of might be set on foot, I would advertise him, and that thereupon he would proceed to those particulars which he formerly intended for my satisfaction.

Herewith I acquainted your Majesty, and finding the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England* had notice from the Duke of our former proceedings, and order to further them by all possible means he could, especially if he should understand that your Majesty were not fully resolved of the *French* match, I thought it [fit by this means to let the Duke

Duke understand in what estate I found those busineses in *England*; and thereupon with your Majesties permission, I wrote a letter unto him to this effect.

That although it were true that the Match with *France* had been treated of with much earnestness on both sides, and with great likelihood of being concluded; yet there daily arose so many difficulties, and new cases of delay, that I judged it far from any perfect conclusion, neither did I see cause absolutely to despair of the busineses which our selves pretended, unless the difficulty of the Conditions should make it desperate. But if those things should be expected by *Spain*, which in the Treaty for the late Princess were demanded, it were better by much not to renew the business, then by impossible or unfitting propositions on either side to give distaste, or lessen the friendship which now was betwixt your Majesties. And therefore except that in *Spain* they would be contented with such conditions as your Majesty most fittingly and conveniently might yield unto, and all other Catholique Princes were willing to content themselves with, I neither saw cause to hope for good success, or reason to set the treaty on foot. But in case I might know that the conditions in point of Religion might be such as I should see a possibility of your Majesties condescending unto them; I should be far from despairing of some good effect; for that I knew that divers not of the meanest nor least power with your Majesty were hereunto well inclined, and would give their helping hands.

Hereupon the Spanish Ambassador dispatcht his Secretary into *Spain*, and received answer from the Duke, that he should give me all assurance that there was a great desire and inclination to the making of the Match, and that at my return into *Spain* they no way doubted but that I should receive such satisfaction, as should make it appear on their part there should be nothing wanting for the effecting of it.

It now remaineth what hath passed herein since my last coming to this Court. I arrived here in *Madrid* only a day or two before Christmas; and having some six dayes after my audience appointed by the King, whilst I was in a withdrawing chamber expecting the Kings coming forth, the Duke of *Lerma* came thither to bear me company; and after many respectfull demands of your Majesty, and the Queens and the Princes health, and some few complements unto my self concerning my welcom again unto this Court, he fell to speak of the false Alarms we had in *England* concerning a Spanish Armado, seeming much to be displeased that any credit should be given to any thing to his Majesties dishonour and want of fidelity (as he termed it.) But your Majesty (he said) did never believe it: And it seems he heard of some pleasant answer your

your Majesty should make to some one of your Ministers, that in great haste came unto your Majesty when you were a hunting, and told you that the Spanish Fleet was in the Channel. From this he entred into great protestations of the sincerity of this Kings affection and intention towards your Majesty, telling me that I should now see how much they desired to work a greater neerfulness and uniting between your Majesties: And that of the principal business of which we had in former time spoken, meaning the Marriage, he desired to speak with me, but it must be at more leisure. I answered, that I would not fail shortly to wait upon him, and that he should find me answerable to the professions I had made, which was, that being induced thereunto by such sufficient and good grounds as might satisfy my Master both for the conveniencie and fittingness of having such a Treaty set on foot, and likewise might take away all objections of their intents of entertaining and diverting your Majesty hereby, I would be as ready to do all good offices and give furtherance to the business, as any Minister the King of *Spain* had. And this was all that at our first meeting passed in this business.

About some eight days after, I having not in all this time stirred out of my house under colour of being ill disposed, though the truth was indeed to inform my self of some particulars which concerned your Majesties service, before I would speak with the Duke: He being (as I have since understood) something troubled that in all this time I made no means to come unto him, one morning by nine of the clock very privately came to my house, without advertising of his coming (as the custom is here) untill the Coach stayed at my gate, and then he sent in a Gentleman to me, telling me that the Duke was there to speak with me. When I had conducted the Duke into a room where we were private, he fell into th' aforesaid matter, and in the manner as I shall here set down unto your Majesty, without making any other pretence or intent of his coming, or without using in the space of an houre any speech touching any other business.

After some few questions of your Majesty and the Queen, he began to ask many things of the Prince, as of his age, his stature, his health, his inclination, to what sports he was chiefly given? And then suddenly, as it were with a passionate expression of affection, he desired God to bless him, and to make him the means by which your Majesties might be conjoynd in a neerer alliance, and your Kingdoms in a perpetual amity: saying unto me, that he was out of doubt of my good inclination to this business, both by what had formerly passed between our selves, as likewise by my proceedings in *England*, whereof he had been fully informed by the Spanish Ambassador. And therefore he would in few words deal
with

with me with much cleernes and freeness, assuring himself he should receive the like measure from me; and thereupon entred into a solemn protestation, how much this King desired the Match; and for himself he solemnly swore, there was no one thing in the world he more desired to see before he dyed, then the effecting thereof. But my Lord Ambassador (said he) you must deal as justly with me to let me understand whether you conceive the like desire to be in the King of *England* and his Ministers, and then I shall proceed to speak further unto you.

I answered the Duke, That I ever esteemed more the reputation of a man of truth and integrity, then of skill and subtilty: which I did hope he did well perceive by what I was to say, for that I was much more desirous fairly to go off from this business, then easily to go into it. And therefore if he would have me speak my conscience, I neither conceived that either in your Majesty or any of your Ministers there was any kind of inclination thereunto; for that they having formerly given so resolute and distastefull an answer, your Majesty had just cause never again to cast so much as your thoughts this way: And though it might be alleged, that the fitness of the Prince his years, and other civil regards might cause new resolutions, yet the difference of Religion were still the same, and the same were the truths, and opinions of Divines in matter of conscience; and therefore it would not but be a thing of great difficulty to perswade your Majesty and your Ministers that a Match should be hearkened unto, much less desired from hence, but upon the same terms the very thought and remembrance whereof is yet displeasing in *England*. So that to deal plainly with him, I neither found in your Majesty or in the Councel any kind of thought or imagination of any possibility of having any such motion again revived. But this I found not to grow from any particular dislike or want of affection in your Majesty to *Spain*, or that many of the greatest or the principallest person in *England* judged not the nearness and alliance of *Spain* equally valuable with any other of Christendom; but that out of a distastefulness of the former answer given from hence, all expectation of any business of this nature was absolutely extinguished, and therefore again to revive it there would need more then ordinary endeavours or ordinary assurances: But in case that they might be given, I know that this Match would neither want well-willers nor assistants; and for my own part I would freely make profession that no man more desired it then my self, nor would more willingly imploy his endeavours for the furthering thereof, when by the descending to particulars I should see both in regard of the conditions and the assurances of sincere proceeding, the motion worthy and fit by a

discreet and good servant to be offered to his Master; neither then should I be wholly out of hope of good success, though I would not but esteem it a business of infinite difficulty.

The Duke replied, That any discourse that I thought fit herein should be condescended unto, for that all time was lost that was spent in generalities: And therefore if I so liked, he would move this King, that one or two besides himself might be appointed to have conference with me; for that if he should only retain it in his hands, by reason of his many occupations it would have a slower progress then he wished; but if I would by way of conference digest the difficulties into heads and particulars, he would as often as he might be present at our meeting: But for his own part, he said he apprehended few but what would arise out of the difference of Religion.

I told the Duke, that I very well approved of the descending into particulars, neither should I refuse conference with any herein whom the King would appoint to speak with me: But if his meaning were, that these persons should be nominated or joyned by way of Commission, I thought fit to let him understand that I neither had any time, nor did at present speak of this business either by order or direction, no nor so much as by your Majesties privy, but as a Minister that desired to lay hold of all occasions for the increasing of further love & nearness betwixt his Master and the Prince to whom he is imployed, I should be glad to the uttermost of my power to advance and further this cause, as that which I apprehended to be the greatest which the world now affordeth for the firm uniting of your Majesties and your estates.

The Duke told me, that the King would make no scruple to declare his good inclination and desire to have this Match proceeded in; and that for the accommodating of the difficulties, he had already used divers diligences with the Pope, as likewise with the greatest Divines of this Kingdom, whereof he named some unto me, whom he said he found very well inclined to the Match: he told me also he would be glad they might speak with me, to the end I might truly understand of them all kind of scruples that could be alleadged. I answered, I desired nothing more; and that I could not but approve of those courses he prescribed, as the most probable to produce a good effect, and that I hoped God would give happy success unto the business: But I should be bold in one thing to deliver my opinion, which was, No wayes to interest our Masters herein, unless by the understanding and clearing the difficulties on both sides, there should be great appearances and probabilities that the business would take effect: For if their names should be herein used, and after their Treaty should not be successfull, it would but exasperate and breed

breed a greater distaste betwixt your Majesties. The Duke told me, he himself misliked not my opinion; though he said that howsoever that business succeeded, yet your Majesty should have reason to accept kindly this Kings good intention, for that if it miscarried, it should appear not to be their default, but that they had stretched as far as honor and conscience would give them leave. And thus much he said I might write unto your Majesty if I thought fit, or to my confident friends in England upon his word and assurance: and so telling me that he would presently appoint those that should confer with me in this business, we then parted.

Within two days after I went to the Duke, and after that I had spoken with him about the business of *Cleves* according to my instruction, whereof I gave an account unto Mr. Secretary in a dispatch directed unto him, we fell again into the speech of the match.

The Duke told me had well considered of that which I had said unto him, and much approved it, not to interest our Masters in the business, until we should see some likelihood of good success.

And for that he supposed the difference of Religion like to prove the onely difficulty of consideration, he thought it fit that it should be first cleared; and therefore he would break the matter with the Cardinall of Toledo, & the Kings Confessor, and with them he joynd another learned man, one Father *Frederick*, who since I understand is a Jesuite, but truly hath the report of a moderate man. These the Duke said should have order to confer with me as far as might be, reserving safe the grounds and sincerity of their Religion. I answered the Duke, that I was well satisfied herewith, and that if their demands were such as might content any other Catholique Prince, I should have hope of good success; if otherwise, I should judge it a happiness to be put out of doubt and suspense, and so we passed from this subject.

I presume to set down to your Majesty all the passages of this business with so much length and fullness, for that I no way dare adventure to offer unto your Majesty any opinion or belief of my own, either for the fitness of the match, or the sincerity of their intention; or the possibility of accommodating differences of Religion. But your Majesty seeing undisguised all that hath hitherto passed, with every circumstance, may be pleased out of the consideration and knowledge of those particulars to frame unto your self both such a believe of their direct meaning, and such a resolution of the further proceeding herein, as shall be most suitable to your Majesties wisdom: onely I think it fit to set down further unto your Majesty the particular ends which may be conceived they aim at by setting this business afoot at this present, in case they should not

intend really to perform it : The first may be to stagger and divert your Majesties Treaty with *France* : The second for entertaining your Majesty with fair hopes and promises, thereby to keep you from declaring your self opposite unto them in the present business of *Juliers* and *Cleves* which remaineth still uncompounded. But this being so, your Majesty may be pleased to understand that they serve themselves with this occasion, not that there could be any such thing primarily in their intention, for that the expression of their desire to the match was the last year long before these differences happened.

Further, the Duke of *Lerma* should be the most fass and dishonorable man living, without Christianity or soul, if he should voluntarily damn himself with oathes and protestations of a thing that he sincerely meant not ; and truly he should deal contrarily to the wisdom of his other proceedings, wherein he layeth all occasions of distaste or discourtesie upon other inferior Ministers, labouring still to clear himself of the imputation of them, if in this he should make himself the author and instrument of so unjust and indirect proceeding between Princes. But the course of most security and caution is , that your Majesty suffer none of your other resolutions to be interrupted by this overture; onely if your Majesty be pleased for a while to entertain and suspend the conclusion of the match with *France*, I conceive it can be little to your Majesties disadvantage.

It lastly now remaineth, that I become an humble suiter unto your Majesty for your clear and full directions in this business, desiring if your Majesty will have it further entertained, that I may have ample instructions from your Majesty, both that I may intimate what may be expected in point of Dowry, and in all other things to be required by your Majesty, as likewise how far I may proceed in satisfying in point of Religion. For it is not to be supposed that they wil proceed with that freeness and directness which is to be wished, unless in a fitting measure they shall see me likewise able and willing to declare my self in such points wherein they may expect satisfaction. I intend not hereby to move for a formall Commission to treat, but onely a private instruction for my direction and warrant how to behave my self as may be most advantageous to the cause, and your Majesties ends. So humbly desiring your Majesty to command this Bearer to be dispatched back with all convenient speed, I commend your Majesty to the holy protection of God. Your Majesties faithfull subject and servant,

BRISTOL

Abignoto

Abignoto to Conde Gondomar, concerning the death
of Philip the third.

Vpon the last day of *February*, being *Sunday*, 1620: his Catholique Majesty, after he had heard Mass and the Sermon in the Chappel, was taken with a Feaver, which continued with him eight dayes with a ruddiness and pimples which appeared plainly in his face, which afterwards began to diminish: but he was suddenly taken with a vomiting and a great feaver, which continued with him till the 21. day; and the Physicians were of opinion to have him rise out of his bed, which was accordingly done both that day and the next: but about dinner-time happened unto him a great swooning, which much astonisht him; and the 23. day, in the night, his feaver did redouble upon him with a vomiting and a flux in the belly, and a great melancholy and an opinion that he should die: which feaver continued with divers reduplications, the Physicians having an ill opinion of him till on Saturday night the 27. when his reduplications were more violent, his water bad; and the King persevered in saying how he saw well that he should die, he commanded that the Image of our Lady of *Antiochia* should be carried about, which was performed on Sunday the 28. in a solemn Procession, where-in the Councillors of *Spain* assisted.

In the evening commandment was given to the Churches, that the blessed Sacrament should be set upon the Altar, and the body of *S. Isidore* should be placed in the Court. On Munday the 29. about four of the clock in the evening, his disease then grew violent, and some ulcers appeared on his belly, on his reins, and on his thighs; and the King still assuring himself that he should die, the Physicians then feeling his pulse affirmed that undoubtedly they assented unto the King in the opinion he conceived of his infirmity. At the same time the President of *Castile* was sent for, and the Confessor, who having had some speech with the King and the Duke of *Osuna*, they went and fetcht the Councillors, before whom and the Grandees of *Spain* who were present, the King sealed his Testament, which *John de Serita* Secretary of State had set down in writing in his presence. Afterwards they caused him to eat somewhat; and being advised how it would be good for him to sleep, he made this answer in Spanish, *En jornada san longa y tiempo san brève ne conviêns reposar*; Upon so long a journey, and so short a time to perform

form it, I must not rest. Then he sent for the Prince, and the young Child *Don Carlo*, to whom having spoken for a good while, at length in particular to the Prince he said aloud how he recommended unto him the Child, and that he grieved that he should have been unprovided, but he hoped he left him in the hands of a good & loving brother. Then said he to the Prince, that he requested him that he would not do as he did at his coming to the Crown, in removing his Fathers old Officers and Servants, but that he would imploy those who were experienced in affairs of the Commonwealth: he then commended unto him particularly *John de Luenza* Secretary of the Memorials, and his Confessor, and afterwards the Duke of *Ossuna*. Then was presently brought in the Infanta *Maria*, and the Infante-Cardinal. He cryed out when he saw the Infanta and said, *Maria*, I am full sorry that I must die before I have married thee; but this thy brother shall have care of. He then turned towards her brother, and said unto him, Prince, do not forsake her till you have made her an Empress. Then he spake unto the Cardinal Infant, whom he appointed to be a Priest so soon as he should come to be of fit age, and said that he should be much grieved if he thought he would not undertake this profession. He had sent for Madam the Princess, but she swooned upon her entry at the chamber-door, which was the cause that she was conducted back again unto her own chamber, fearing lest it might be prejudicial unto her being great with child. Which being reported to the King, he shewed great compassion thereat, and said that he ever constantly believed that Madam the Princess loved him as well as any of his own children. After that he began to speak of the Queen, saying how she should lose a good Husband, and that he had always loved her dearly. Afterwards he distributed between the Prince and the Infanta the Reliques and other memorials he had, except one Crucifix which hung at the tellern of the bed, and said unto the Prince that he could not give it him then, because it was the same with which his Grandfather and Father had dyed; but he commended it to him to be held with great reverence after his death, and that the Popes had given unto it special Indulgences. Afterwards giving them all his blessing, he caused them to go forth; and so calling for the blessed Sacrament, which was administered unto him about midnight, he received the Extreme unction at two of the clock in the morning, and so commended himself unto God. Yet did he not for all this forbear to seal to a great number of papers which were brought him: And complaining very much, he refused such meat as they would have had him take. About noon the Body of *St. Isidore* was placed neer unto his bed, his Confessor and Father *Florence* perswading him to make a vow for his health, and that he would build a Chappel

Chappel to the same Saint, which he did, but withall said, *Peró ya es tarde*, But now it is very late. He continued all the rest of the day speaking continually to the Father Confessor, Father *Florence*, and *Rochas*. Many processions of penance were solemnized in the Town, and the Council assembled twice. About the evening his infirmity renewed with violence, and having languished the whole night, in the morning his departure was published, though indeed it was not till about nine of the clock in the morning, the last of *March*, the self same day of our return. Which will inform you of all things passed, at least of such as came any ways to our knowledge. The Queen stir'd not out of her bed all that day, for fear lest either trouble or grief of mind (whereof she gave plentiful testimony by her tears) might prejudice her health, or the fruit of her body, which she hath passed over (thanks be to God) whereof we send you word, that the good news may shut up the discourse of an accident so lamentable and unlooked for.

King James to the Earl of Bristol Ambassador in Spain,
Octob. 3. 1622.

Right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Councillor, we greet you well.

THere is none knowes better then your self how we have laboured ever since the beginning of these infortunate troubles of the Empire, notwithstanding all opposition to the contrary, to merit well of our good brother the King of *Spain*, and the whole House of *Austria*, by a long and lingring patience grounded still upon his friendship and promises, That care should be had of our honour, and of our Childrens patrimony and inheritance. We have acquainted you also from time to time since the beginning of the Treaty at *Bruxels* how crossly things have there proceeded, notwithstanding the fair professions made unto us both by the King of *Spain*, the Infanta & all his Ministers, and the Letters written by him unto the Emperor, and them effectually (at the least as they endeavoured to make us believe) but what fruits have we of all these, other then dishonour and scorn? Whilst we are treating, the Town and Castle of *Heidilbergh* taken by force, our Garrison put to the sword, *Manheim* besieged, and all the hostility used that is within the power of an Enemy, as you will see by the relation which we have commanded our Secretary to send you.

Our

Our pleasure therefore is, That you shall immediatly as soon as you can get audience, let the King understand how sensible we are of those proceedings of the Emperour towards us; and withall are not a little troubled to see that the *Infanta* having an absolute commission to conclude a suspension and cessation of Arms, should now at last when all objections were answered, and the former (solely pretended) obstacles removed, not onely delay the conclusion of the Treaty, but refuse to lay her command upon the Emperours Generals for abstaining from the siege of our Garrisons during the Treaty upon pretext of want of authority. So as for avoyding of further dishonor, we have been enforced to recall both our Ambassadors, as well the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who is already returned to our presence) as also the Lord *Chichester*, whom we intended to have sent unto the Emperour to the Dyet at *Ratisbone*. Seeing therefore that out of our extraordinary respect meerly to the King of *Spain*, and the firm confidence we ever put in the hopes and promises which he did give us, desiring nothing more then for his cause principally to avoid all occasions that might put us into ill understanding with any of the House of *Austria*, We have hitherto proceeded with a stedfast patience trusting to the treaties, and neglecting all other means which might probably have secured the remainder of our childrens inheritance. Those Garrisons which we maintained in the Palatinate, being rather for honor sake to keep a footing untill the generall accommodation, then that we did rely so much upon their strength as upon his friendship, and by the confidence & security of ours are thus exposed to dishonor & reproach: you shal tell that King, that seeing all those endeavours and good offices which he hath used towards the Emperour in this business, on the behalf of our son-in-law, upon confidence whereof that our security depended, which he continually by his Letters and Ministers here laboured to beget and confirm in us, have not sorted to any other issue then to a plain abuse both of his trust and ours; whereby we are both of us highly injured in our honour, though in a different degree we hope, & desire that out of a true sense of this wrong offered unto us, he will as our deer and loving brother faithfully promise and undertake upon his honor, confirming the same also under his hand and seal, either that the Castle and Town of *Heidelbergh* shall within threescore and ten dayes after this your audience, and demand made, be rendred into our hands, with all things therein belonging, to our son-in-law, or our daughter, as neer as maybe, in the state wherein they were taken; and the like for *Manheim* and *Frankindale*, if both or either of them shall be taken by the enemy whilst these things are in treating; as also that there shall be within the said term of threescore and ten days

days, a cessation or suspension of Arms in the Palatinate for the future upon the severall Articles and Conditions last propounded by our Ambassador Sir *Richard Weston*, and that the generall treaty shall be set on foot again upon such honorable terms and conditions as were propounded unto the Emperour in a letter written unto him in *November* last, and with which the King of *Spain* then (as we understand) seemed satisfied, or else in case all these particulars be not yeilded unto, and performed by the Emperour, as is here propounded, but be refused or delayed beyond the time afore mentioned, that then the King of *Spain* do joyn his forces with ours, for the recovery of our childrens honors and patrimony, which upon this trust hath been thus lost. Or if so be his forces at this present be otherwise so imployed, as that they cannot give us that assistance which we here desire, and as we think we have deserved, yet at the least he will permit us a free and friendly passage through his Territories and Dominions for such forces as we shall send and imploy into *Germany* for this service: of all which disjunctively, if you receive not of the King of *Spain* within ten days at the furthest, after your audience and proposition made, a direct assurance under his hand and seal, without delay or putting us off to further Treaties and Conferences, that is to say, of such restitution, cessation of Arms, and proceeding to a generall treaty, as is before mentioned, or else of assistance and joyning his forces with ours against the Emperour, or at least permission of passage for our forces through his said Dominions, that then you take your leave and return unto our Presence without further stay; otherwise to proceed in the negotiation of the marriage of our Son, according to the instruction we have given you. Given, &c. at *Hampson Court*, *Octob. 3. 1622.*

Earl of Bristol to King James, Octob. 21. 1622.

MAY it please your most excellent Majesty, I received your Majesties Letter of the 9. of *Septemb* the 23. of the same moneth, & by them understand that your Majesty hath received much satisfaction by what I had formerly written unto your Majesty both concerning the restitution of the Prince Palatine, as likewise of this Kings resolution to proceed to the conclusion of the Match: but that your Majesty findeth the effects very unsuitable, both by the proceeding at *Bruxels*, & in the *Palatinate*, as also by what you understand from *Rome* by Mr. *Gage* of the

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Popes

Popes demands. I hope by the arrival of Mr. *Cottington* your Majesty will have received satisfaction in some measure, at least that there hath been no diligence or time omitted either for the redressing of any thing that hath been amiss, or for the advancing of your Majesties affairs.

The very day I received your Letters, I sent a Gentleman post unto the King who was gone into the Escorial, to demand audience, which he presently granted me, and I repaired thither unto him upon the third of *October*, the Conde de *Gondomar* being likewise commanded to wait upon the King, I was there well received; and presently upon my arrival the Conde de *Olivarez* came to me to the lodgings which were appointed for me to rest in. To him I delivered fully in the presence of Sir *Walter Aston* and the Conde de *Gondomar*, what I had to negotiate with the King, both in the business of the Match, and of the Palatinate. In the Match I represented how much it imported your Majesty that a speedy resolution might be taken therein, both in regard of the Prince being your Majesties onely son, now arrived to the age of 22 years, and for the settling of your affairs in *England*. I repeated unto him all the passages in this Treaty, how many years had been already spent in it; that after so long an expectation, the diligences used in *Rome* for the obtaining of the Dispensation had wrought but small effect, since the Pope had lately made such demands as were altogether impossible for your Majesty to condescend unto; and therefore your Majesty seeing the business still delayed, held it fit that some such course might be taken that both your Majesties might speedily know what you were to trust unto; and therefore had comanded me to signifie unto this King your uttermost resolution how far you would condescend in point of Religion towards what the Pope had demanded; & if herewith this King could be satisfied, your Maj. desire that we might proceed to a final and speedy conclusion; otherwise that this King would likewise cleerly declare himself, that your Majesty might lose no more time in the disposing of the Prince your son. Hereunto the Conde de *Olivarez* answer'd with some length, the substance I shall only presume to set down briefly to your Majesty. He proposed a sincere intention and resolution in the King to make the Match, and that there should not be one day lost; for the speedy dispatch thereof imported them as much as your Majesty; and to the end that no time may be lost, this King had the next day after for Don *Balthazar de Zuniga* appointed Don *Ferdinando de Giron* in his place in the Commission: That for the going of Mr. *Gage* from *Rome*, and the Popes demands, they were absolutely ignorant of them; That the King had done all that I my self desired for the redress of this error: That I might assure your Majesty that you shall find all sincerity and cleer proceeding, without any houres delay more then of necessity the nature of the business required.

As for the business of the *Palatinate*, I presented at large the merits of your Majesties proceeding, the many promises made from hence; yet notwithstanding the whilst your Majesty was treating at *Bruxels*, *Heidelberg* one of the three places which were only left, and where your Majesty had Garrisons, was besieged by the Archduke *Leopold* and Monsieur *Tilly*; that this King had withdrawn his Forces, and so exposed the *Palatinate* absolutely to the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Conde de *Olivarez* answered me, by acknowledging how much your Majesties proceedings had deserved at the Emperor and this Kings hands: That whatsoever your Majesty could expect, or had been at any time promised, should by this King be really performed: That the Prince Palatines own courses hitherto had been the only hinderance of the effecting of it: That he referred it unto your Majesties own just judgment, whether the calling of this Kings forces out of the *Palatinate* were with any ill intention, or meerly for the defence of *Flanders*, which otherwise had been put in great hazard by Count *Mansfield*, as your Majesty saw by what had really passed: That the siege of *Heidelberg* was no way by the consent or knowledge of this King or any of his Ministers, but was generally disapproved by them all.

I told them, I conceived that was not enough; for that your Majesty had engaged your self to this King, that in case your Son-in-law would not conform himself, you would not only forsake him, but would declare your self against him, and give the Emperor assistance for the reducing of him to reason, and that your Majesty could not but expect a like reciprocal proceeding from the King. He answered, your Majesty should see the Kings sincerity by the effects; and that if *Heidelberg* should be taken, and the Emperor refuse to restore it, or to condescend to such accommodation as should be held reasonable, this King would infallibly assist your Majesty with his Forces. And this he spake with great assurance, and wished me to desire your Majesty to be confident you would find nothing but real and sincere proceedings from hence.

I was then presently called for to the King, to whom I spake first in the business of the Match, and delivered him the contents thereof in writing, which I have sent to Mr. Secretary. I received from him the same answer in effect as from the Conde de *Olivarez*, That he desired the Match no less then your Majesty; That on his part there should be no time lost for the bringing of it to a speedy conclusion. In the business of the *Palatinate* I spake unto the King with some length, repeating many particulars of your Majesties proceedings, and how much your honour was like to suffer, that now whilst you were treating, *Heidelberg* defended

defended by your Garrisons, was like to be taken. The King answered me, He would effectually labour that your Majesty should have entire satisfaction; and rather then your Majesty should fail thereof, he would imploy his Arms to effect it for you. My Lord Ambassador Sir *Walter Aston* accompanied me at my audience, and was a witness of all that passed as wel with the King, as with the Conde de *Olivarez*.

Within few dayes after the newes of the taking of *Heidelbergh* came hither: whereupon I dispatched again to the King in such sort as I have at large advertised Mr. Secretary *Calvert*. The effect of my Negotiation was, that they on the 13. of *October* dispatched Letters away of the Emperors and Duke of *Bavaria's* proceedings. But pressing them further in regard their former Letters have wrought so little effect, they have given me at present a second Dispatch, which I have sent unto the *Infanta*, and whereof Mr. Secretary will give your Majesty an account, which I conceive will procure your Majesties better satisfaction then hitherto you have received from the Emperor and his party.

For the business of the match, I have written to Mr. Secretary what is to be said at present; and will only add, that as I should not willingly give your Majesty hope upon uncertain grounds, so I will not conceal what they profess, which is, That they will give your Majesty real and speedy satisfaction therein. And if they intended it not, they are falser then all the Devils in hell; for deeper oaths and protestations of sincerity cannot be made.

It will only remain, that I humbly cast my self at your Majesties feet for that addition of Title wherewith it hath pleased you to honour me and my posterity. My gratitude and thankfulness wanteth expression, and shall only say unto your Majesty, That as all I have either of fortunes or honour, I hold it meerly of your bounty and goodness; so shall I ever cheerfully lay them down with my life into the bargain, for the service of your Majesty and yours.

So with my humble prayers for the health and prosperity of your Majesty, I humbly commend your Majesty to Gods holy protection, and rest,

*Your Majesties most humble
servant and subject,*

Madrid, Octob. 31. 1622.

BRISTOL:

King

King Philip the third of Spaine to the Conde of Olivarez.

THE King my Father declared at his death that his intention never was to marry my sister the *Infanta Donna Maria* with the Prince of *Wales*, which your Uncle *Don Baltezer* well understood, and so treated this match ever with an intention to delay it, notwithstanding it is now so far advanced, that considering withall the averfness unto it of the *Infanta*, as it is high time to seek some means to divert the treaty, which I would have you find out, and I will make it good whatsoever it be; but in all other things procure the satisfaction of the King of *Great Britain*, who hath deserved very much, and it shall content me, so that it be not the match.

Conde Olivarez his Answer to the King.

Sir,

CONsidering in what estate we find the Treaty of marriage between *Spain* and *England*, and knowing certainly how the Ministers did understand this business, that treated it in the time of *Philip* the third, who is now in heaven, that their meaning was never to effect it; but by enlarging the treaties and points of the said marriage, to make use of the friendship of the King of *Great Britain*, as well in the matter of *Germany* as those of *Flanders*; and suspecting likewise that your Majesty is of the same opinion (although the demonstrations do not shew so) joyning to those suspicions that it is certain that the *Infanta Donna Maria* is resolved to put her self into the Monastery the same day that your Majesty shall press her to make the marriage, I have thought fit to present to your Majesty that which my good zeal hath afforded me in this occasion, thinking it a good time to acquaint your Majesty withall, to the end you may resolve of that which you shall find most convenient with the advice of those Ministers that you shall think fit.

The King of *Great Britain* doth find himself at this time equally in the two businesses, the one is the marriage to the which he is moved by the conveniences which he finds in your Majesties friendship with making an agreement with those Catholics that he thinks are secretly in his Kingdom, and by this to assure himself of them, as likewise to marry
his

his son to one of the house of *Austria*, knowing that the *Infanta Dona Maria* is the best born Lady in the world. Th' other businesse is, the restitution of the Palatinate, in which he is yet more ingaged. For (besides that his reputation is at stake there is added) the love and interest of his Grandchildren, sons of his onely daughter. So that both by the law of Nature, and reason of State, he ought to put them before whatsoever conveniences might follow by dissembling what they suffer. I do not dispute whether the King of *Great Brittain* be governed in this businesse of the Palatinate by Art or friendship, I think a man may say he hath used both; but as a thing not precisely necessary to this discourse, I omit it. I hold it for a maxime, that these two Ingagements in which he finds himself, are unseparable: for although the marriage be made, we must fail in that which in any way of understanding is most necessary, which is the restitution of the Palatinate. This being supposed, having made the marriage in the form as it is treated, your Majesty may find your self, together with the King of *Great Brittain*, engaged in a war against the Emperour, and the Catholique league, so that your Majesty shall be forced to declare your self with your Arms against the Emperour and the Catholique league, a thing which to hear will offend your Majesties godly ears: or declaring your self for the Emperour and the Catholique league as certainly you will, your Majesty will find your self ingaged in a war against the King of *England*, and your sister married with his son, with the which all whatsoever conveniences that was thought upon with this marriage do cease if your Majesty shall shew your self Newtrall as it may be some will expound ———

The first will cause very great scandall, and with just reason, since in matters of lesse opposition then of Catholiques against Heretiques, the Armes of this Crown hath taken the godly against the contrary part. And at this time the *French* men have taken part with the *Hollanders* against your Majesty, your piety hath been such, that you have sent your Arms against the Rebels of that Crown, leaving all the great considerations of State, only because those men are enemies of the faith and the Church. It wil oblige your Majesty, and good occasion to those of the League, to make use of the King of *France*, and other Catholique Princes ill affected to this Crown, for it will be a thing necessary for them to do so, and those even against their own Religion will foment and assist the Heretiques for hatred to us, without doubt they will follow the contrary part onely to leave your Majesty with that blemish that never hath befalln any King of these Dominions.

By the second the King of *England* will remain offended and disobliged, seeing that neither interestes nor hopes do follow the Ally.

Allyance with this Crown, as likewise the pretext of particular resentment: for having suffered his daughter and grand-children to be ruined for respect of the said Allyance. The Emperour, though he be well-affected, and obliged to us in making the translation at this time as busineses now stand (the Duke of *Bavaria* being now possessed of all the Dominions) although he would dispose all according to our conveniences, yet it will not be in his power to do it, as you and every body may see: And the memoriall that the Emperours Ambassador gave your Majesty yesterday, makes it certain, since in the List of the Souldiers, that every one of the League is to pay, he shews your Majesty, that *Bavier* for himself alone will pay more then all the rest joyned together; the which doth shew his power and his intention, which is not to accommodate matters, but to keep to himself the superiority of all in this broken time. The Emperour is now in the Dyet, and the translation is to be made in it. The opposition in this estate is, by conserving the means for conference, which your Majesties Ministers will do with their capacities, zeal and wisdom, and it is certain they wil all have enough to do; for the difficulty consists to find a way to make the present estate of affairs straight again, which with lingring, as it is said, both the power and time will be lost. I suppose that the Emperour, as your Majesty knows by his Ambassador, desires to marry his daughter with the King of *Englands* son, I doubt not but he will be likewise glad to marry his second daughter with the Palatines son.

Then I propound, that these two marriages be made, and that they be set on foot presently, giving the King of *England* full satisfaction in all his propositions for the more strict union and correspondency that he may agree to it: I hold for certain, that all the conveniences that would have followed the allyance with us, wil be as full in this, it doth accommodate the matter of the Palatinate, and the succession of his grand-children with his honor, & without drawing a sword, or wasting treasure.

After I would reduce the Prince Elector, that was an enemy, to the obedience of the Church, by breeding his sons in the Emperours Court, with Catholique Doctrine.

The businels is great, the difficulty greater then perchance have been in any other case, I have found my self obliged to represent to your Majesty, and to shew (if you please to command me) what I think fit for the disposing of the things, and of the great Ministers that your Majesty hath; I hope with the particular notice of these things, (and all being helped with the good zeal of the *Conde de Gondemer*) it may be that God wil open a way to it, a thing so much for his and your Majesties service.

King

King James to the Earl of Bristol, Octob. 8. 1623.

WE have received yours brought us by *Gresly*, and the Copy of yours to our dear Son ; and we cannot forbear to let you know how well we esteem your dutifull, discreet and judicious relation and humble advise to our self and our Son : whereupon having ripely deliberated with our self, and communicated with our dear Son, we have resolved with the great liking of our Son to rest upon that security (in point of doubt of the *Infanta's* taking a Religious house) which you in your judgment shall think meet. We have further thought meet to give you knowledge, that it is our special desire that the betrothing of the *Infanta* with words *de presenti*, should be upon one of the dayes in Christmase new stile, that holy and joyfull time best fitting so notable and blessed an action.

But first we will that you repair presently to that King, and give him knowledge of the safe arrival of our dear Son to our Court, so satisfied and taken with the great entertainments, personal kindness, favour and respect he hath received from that King and Court, as he seems not able to magnifie it sufficiently, which makes us not know how sufficiently to give thanks ; but we will that by all means you endeavour to express our thankfulness to that King, and the rest to whom it belongs, in the best and most ample manner you can. And hereupon you may take occasion to let that King know, that according to our constant affection to make a firm and indissoluble amity between our Families, Nations and Crowns, and not seem to abandon our honour, nor at the same time we give joy to our onely Son, to give our onely Daughter her portion in tears : By the advice of that Kings Ambassadors, we have entred a Treaty concerning the restitution of the *Palatinate*, as will more particularly appear to you by the copies herewith sent. Now we must remember you, that we ever understood and expected, that upon the marriage of our son with the *Infanta*, we should have a clear restitution of the *Palatinate* & Electoral dignity to our son-in-law, to be really procured by that King, according to the obligation of our honor, as you have wel expressed in your reasons why the person of our Son-in-law should not be left out of the Treaty, but that the Emperor should findout a great title, or by increasing the number of Electorate stiles wherewith to satisfie the Duke of *Bavaria*. We now therefore require you, that presently in your first audience

dience you procure from that King a punctual answer what course that King will take for the restitution of the Palatinate and Electorate to our Son-in-law; and in case that either the Emperor or the Duke of *Bavaria* oppose any part of the expected restitution, what course that King will take to give us assurance for our content in that point, whereof we require your present answer; and that you so press expedition herein, that we may all together receive the full joy of both in Christmase, resting our self upon that faithfull diligence of yours we have approved in all your service. Though almost with the latest we must remember to you as a good ground for you to work on, that our Son did write us out of *Spain*, That that King would give us a Blank in which we might form our own Conditions concerning the *Palatinate*; and the same our Son confirms to us now. What observation and performance that King will make, we require you to express, and give us a speedy account, &c. Given, &c.

Earl of Bristol in answer to King James,
Octob. 29. 1623.

MAY it please your most excellent Majesty, I have received your Majesties Letters of the 8. of *October* on the 21. of the same moneth, some houres within night; and have thought fit to dispatch back unto your Majesty with all possible speed, referring the answer to what your Majesty hath by these Letters commanded me, to a Post that I shall purposely dispatch when I shall have negotiated the particulars with this King and his Ministers, wherein God willing all possible diligence shall be used.

But forasmuch as I find both by your Majesties Letter, as likewise by Letters which I have received from the Prince his Highness, that you continue your desires of having the Match proceeded in, I held it my duty that your Majesty should be informed that although I am set free in as much as concerneth the doubt of the *Infanta's* entring into Religion, for the delivering of the powers left with me by his Highness, yet by this new direction I now received from your Majesty, that the Deposories should be deferr'd till *Christmas*, the said powers are made altogether useless and invalid, it being a clause in the bodies of the said powers, that they shall onely remain in force till *Christmas* and no longer, as your Majesty may see by the copie I send herewith inclosed.

T

Your

Your Majesty, I conceive, will be of opinion, that the suspending of the execution of the powers untill the force and validity of them be expired, is a direct and effectually revoking of them; which not to do, how far his Highness is in his Honor engaged, your Majesty will be best able to judge by viewing the powers themselves. Further, if the date of these powers do expire, besides the breach of the Capitulations, although the match it self jealousies and mistrusts be hazarded, yet the Princes coming at the Spring, will be almost impossible: For by that time new Commissions and Powers shall be after *Christmas* granted by the Prince, which must be to the satisfaction of both parties, I conceive so much of the year will be spent, that it will be impossible for the Fleets and other preparations to be in a readiness against the Spring; for it is not to be imagined that they will here proceed effectually with their preparations, untill they shall be sure of the Desposorios, especially when they shall have seen them severall times deferred on the Prince his part, and that upon pretexts that are not new, or grown since the granting of the Powers, but were before in being, and often under debate, and yet were never insisted upon to make stay of the business; so that it will seem that they might better have hindered the granting of them then the execution of them. Now, if there were not staggering in former resolutions, the which although really there is not, yet can it not but be suspected; and the clearing of it between *Spain* and *England*, will cost much time. I most humbly crave your Majesties pardon if I write unto you with the plainness of a true-hearted and faithfull servant, who ever hath cooperated honestly unto your Majesties ends. I knew them, I know your Majesty hath been long time of opinion, that the greatest assurance you could get, that the King of *Spain* would effectually labour the entire restitution of the Palatinate, was that he really proceeded to the effecting of the match, and my instructions under your Majesties hands, were to insist upon the restoring the Prince Palatine; but not to annex it to the treaty of the match, as that thereby the match should be hazarded; for that your Majesty seemed confident that here it would never grow to a perfect conclusion without a settled resolution to give your Majesty satisfaction in the business of the Palatinate. The same course I observed in the carriage of the business by his Highness and my Lord Duke at their being here, who though they insisted on the business of the Palatinate, yet they held it fit to treat of them distinctly, and that the marriage should proceed as a good pawn for the other.

Since their departure my Lord Ambassador Sir *Walter Aston* and my self have been pressed to have this Kings resolution in writing concerning the Palatinate, and the dispatches which your Majesty will receive
here

herewith concerning that business, were writ before the receipt of your Majesties Letters; and doubtless it is now a great part of their care that that business may be well entred before the *Infanta's* coming into *England*: And his Highness will well often remember, that the Conde de *Olivarez* often protested a necessity of having this business compounded and settled before the marriage, saying, otherwise they might give a Daughter, and a War within three moneths after, if this ground and subject of quarrell should still be left on foot. The same language he hath ever held with Sir *Walter Ashton* and my self, and that it was a firm peace and amity as much as an allyance which they sought with his Majesty. So that it is not to be doubted, but that this King concluding the match, resolveth to employ his uttermost power for your satisfaction in the restitution of the Prince Palatine.

The question now will be, whether the business of the Prince Palatine having relation to many great Princes that are interessed therein, living at distance, and being (indeed) for the condition and nature of the business it self, impossible to be ended but by a formall treaty, which of necessity will require great length, whether the conclusion of the match shall any way depend upon the issue of this business, which I conceive to be far from your Majesties intention; for so the Prince might be long kept unbestowed by any avernsness of those which might have particular interest in the Princes remaining unmarried, or dislike with his matching with *Spain*. But that which I understand to be your Majesties aim, is onely to have the conclusion of this match accompanied with a strong engagement as can be procured from this King for the joyning with your Majesty not onely in all good Offices for the entire restitution of the Palatinate, but otherwise if need require of his Majesties assistance herein.

These days past I have laboured with all earnestness, and procured this Kings publique answer which I am told is resolved of, and I shall within these few days have it to send to your Majesty, as also a private Proposition which will be put into your hands; and shall not fail further to pursue your Majesties present directions of procuring this Kings Declaration, in what sort your Majesty may rely upon this Kings assistance, in case the Emperour or the Duke of *Bavaria* hinder the entire restitution of the Prince Palatine. But I conceive (if it be your intention) that I should first here procure this Kings peremptory answer in the whole business, and how he will be assistant unto your Majesty in case of the Emperours or the Duke of *Bavaria's* avernsness. And that I should send it to your Majesty, and receive again your answer before I deliver the Powers for the Deposorios, the match would thereby if not

be hazarded, yet I conceive the Infanta's going at Spring would be rendered altogether impossible. For if upon the arrival of the Approbation I cannot refuse them, but upon some grounds; if I alleadge your Majesties desire of having the Deposories deferred untill Christmass, they know as well as my self that his Highness Proxy is then out of date, besides the infringing of the Capitulations; and they will judge it is a great scorn put upon this King, who ever since the Princes granting of the powers hath called himself the Infanta's Desposado, and to that effect the Prince hath writ unto him in some of his Letters. Besides, it will be held here a point of great dishonour unto the Infanta, if the powers called for by her friends should be detained by the Prince his part: and who-soever else may have deserved it, she certainly hath not deserved disrespect nor discomfort. Further, upon my refusal to deliver the powers, all preparations which now go on cheerfully and apace will be stayed, and there will enter in so much distrust, and so many troubles and jealousies, that if the main business run not hazard by them, at least much time will be spent to clear them.

I must therefore in discharge of my duty tell your Majesty, that all your Majesties businesses here are in a fair way; the Match and all that is capitulated therein, they profess punctually to perform.

In the business of the Palatinate, I continue my earnest and faithfull endeavours, and they protest they infinitely desire, and will to the utmost of their powers endeavour to procure your Majesties satisfaction.

The Prince is like to have a most worthy and vertuous Lady, and who much loveth him, and all things else depending upon this match are in good and hopefull way.

This is now the present estate of your Majesties affairs, as it appeareth unto me and to Sir *Walter Aston*, with whom I have communicated this Dispatch, as I do all things else concerning your Majesties service. And I must clearly let your Majesty understand, that I conceive by the retaining of the powers when this King shall call for them, and offering to deter the Deposories untill Christmass, that your Majesties business will run a hazard, what by the distaste and disgust that will be raised here, and what by the art and industry of those which are enemies to the match, whereof every Court hath plenty in Christendom.

That therefore which I presume with all humility, is, That you would be pleased to give me order with all possible speed, that when the business shall come cleared from *Rome*, and that the powers of the marriage shall be demanded of me in the behalf of this King, that I may deliver them, and no ways seek to interrupt or suspend the Deposories, but assist and help to a perfect conclusion of the match.

And

And for the business of the Palatinate, I continue my earnest and faithful endeavours to engage this King as far as shall be possible, both for the doing of all good offices for the Palatines entire restitution, herein I will not fail (as likewise for this Kings declaration of assistance in case the Emperor or Duke of *Bavaria* shall oppose the said restitution) to use all possible means; and I conceive the dispatch of the Match will be a good pawn in the business, and the help and assistance which the Princes being once betrothed would be able to give in this Court to all your Majesties businesses would be of good consideration.

So fearing I have already presumed too far upon your Majesties patience, I humbly crave your Majesties pardon, and recommend you to the holy protection of God, relting

Madrid, Octob. 29.

1623.

*Your Majesties most humble and
faithful subject and servant,*

BRISTOL.

Earl of Bristol to King James, Novemb. 1. 1623.

MAY it please your most excellent Majesty, I find that upon the news that is now come from the Duke of *Palstrava*, that the Pope hath clearly passed the Dispensation, which is now hourly expected here. There is an intention to call presently upon me for the Princes powers for the marriage left in my hands, the which I know not upon what ground or reason to detain, the Prince having engaged (in the said powers) the faith and word of a Prince no way to revoke and retract from them, but that they should remain in full force till Christmas, and delivered unto me a politique declaration of his pleasure, that upon the coming of the Dispensation I should deliver them unto this King, that they might be put in execution; and hereof likewise was there by Secretary *Serita* as a publique Notary an Instrument drawn, attested by all the witnesses present. If I shall alleadge your Majesties pleasure of having the marriage deferred untill one of the Holidays, although they should condescend thereunto, that is impossible, for the powers will be then expired. If I shall insist upon the restitution of the Palatinate, this King hath therein declared his answer; and it would be much wondred why that should be now added for a condition of the marriage, having ever hitherto been treated of as a business apart, and was in being at the granting

granting of the said powers, and hath been often under debate, but never specified, nor the powers delivered upon any condition of having any such point first cleared; and I must confesse unto your Majesty I understand not how with honour, and that exact dealing which hath ever been observed in all your Majesties actions, the powers can be detained, unless there should appear some new and emergent cause since the granting of them, whereof as yet I hear none specified: Therefore being loath to be the instrument by whose hands any thing should pass, that might have the least reflection upon your Majesties or the Princes honour (which I shall ever value more then my life or safety) and judging it likewise to conduce more to your service, and assuring my self that your Majesties late direction to have the marriage upon one of the holidays in Christmases, was for want of due information that the powers will be then expired, I have thought it fit (with the advice of Sir *Walter Aston*) to raise no scruple in the delivery of the said powers, but do intend when they shall be required to pass on to the nominating of a prefixed day for the Deposorio's: but I shall endeavour to defer the time, untill I may be advertised of your Majesties pleasure, if it may be within the space of 24 dayes, and will labour to find some handson and fair occasion for the deferring of them, without alleadging any directions in that kind from your Majesty or the Prince.

The reasons why I have thought it fit to take this resolution, are, First I find by your Majesties letters and the Princes, that your intent is to proceed in the marriage, and to that purpose your Majesty and the Prince have set me free to deliver the powers according to the first intentions, by removing that scruple of the Infanta's entring into Religion, whereupon they were only suspended.

Secondly, your Majesties Letter only intimateth a desire, not a direction of having the marriage upon one of the holidays of Christmases: which I conceive is to be understood, if it may well and fittingly be so, not if there shall be impossibility therein by reason of the expiring of the powers before, and that the intention of having it then should be overthrown thereby, when I am confident that what your Majesty writeth is for want of due information of the clause of expiration of the powers.

Thirdly, if your Majesty upon these reasons and such as I have formerly alleadged unto your Majesty, should (as I no way doubt but your Majesty will) give me order for the present proceeding to the marriage, yet by my refusing of the powers, and alleadging your Majesties or the Princes directions, although afterwards all things should be cleared, yet would it cast some kind of aspersio and jealousie upon the sincerity of
your

your Majesties and the Princes proceedings. On the contrary side, if your Majesties intention be not to proceed in the match, whereof I see no ground, the intimation of that may be as well a moneth hence as now: And I judge it duty in a servant, especially in a business of so high a consequence, and wherein your Majesty hath spent so much time, to give his master leisure to repair to his second cogitations before he do any act that may disorder or overthrow.

This I offer with all humility unto your Majesties wife and just consideration, and beseech you to make interpretation of my proceedings herein according to my dutifull and zealous care of your honour and service. I have of purpose dispatcht this Post with this Letter, to the end I may receive your Majesties directions in this particular with all possible speed, which I hope shall be to proceed directly to the marriage according to the Capitulations, and so to order all things for the Princess her journey in the Spring. And for the Palatinate, your Majesty may be confident there shall be diligence used in procuring a speedy and good resolution. So, &c.

King James to the Palsgrave.

My most dear Son,

WE have been carefull, and are at this present, to perform the promise which we made unto you, to imploy all our power to re-establish you into your estates and dignities; and having by the patience and industry which we have used, reduced matters within a more neerer circle and of a less extent then the generality in which they were heretofore: We have thought good to give you knowledge of such things whereof hope is given to us that we shall in all appearance obtain them, to the end you may have recourse to your wisdom, and after a mature deliberation make choyce agreeable to the providence, honor, and safety of your estates; duly weighing and examining all circumstances: and therefore we present unto you these Propositions, to wit, In the first place a due submission to the Emperour, under convenient limitations, which first shall be granted and agreed in conformity to that which is Noble, with a safe conduct and assurance requisite and sufficient for the free and safe going and return of your Person and Train. This being done, we make you offer of a present and full restitution of all the Palatinate unto the person of your son, and that you shall be his Administrator during your life. And that after the death of

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the Duke of *Bavaria*, your son shall be re-established in the Electorall dignity; And for the better confirming the sound Amity, and assuring your Possessions, and enioying of all according to the contract, which is presently to be made, and also to serve for a preparation for the bettering of the said conditions to your person, which will be in all likelihood when the marriage will be resolved and concluded to be made betwixt your eldest son our Grand-child, and one of the Emperours daughters. In contemplation whereof they have approached a degree neerer, to wit, that the Electorall dignity shall come again to your person after the Duke of *Bavaria's* death. In which Treaty of marriage, to clear the principall difficulty which consisted with the education of your son with the Emperour, we have taken from them all hope therein (wherein we assure our selves you will be content) and are purposed that he shal have his education with our son, and with and in the presence of the *Infanta*, when she shall be in our Court. We have exactly shewed you the state of this Negotiation, which chiefly concerns you and yours, to the end you may fix your eyes upon your necessity and bare condition and manner of living, which dependeth on the courtesie and assistance of others, and that you may judge advisedly whether your ready entrance into the possession of your own, and with a kind of present liberty of living (with insuranc in time to recover the possession of it) shall not be more convenient for you then a hazardous long expectation upon othet uncertain means: The former whereof I prefer before the later. We pray you to consider what probable and feasible means we may undertake to reduce your condition to that state as you promise your self; wherein we doubt nor, but you will weigh our forces, and those of our Allyes, and such other whereof we may hope to be assured, to the end that if it should happen that we cannot obtain to the entire of that we desire by way of treaty, or that we should take another course, you may be partaker of Councils as well as the issues and uncertain events. And forasmuch as we are desirous to consider with you for your personall estate, and as we are obliged to have regard to the right of our only daughter, and to the inheritance of your children, with the hope of their posterity, by what way it may be most easily established, and by what fit means provision may be made best to that effect. And herein we remain your most affectionate Father,

From White-Hall, Novemb. 20.

Jacobus Rex.

The

The Palsgraves Answer to King James.

SIR,

I Take as a great honor and favour your Majesties Letter of the 20. of November, delivered unto me by the hands of your Ambassador Sir Dudley Carleton, who hath further explained your Majesties intention touching that which concerneth my restitution unto my honors and patrimonial estate, that you continue firm and constant (in conformity to your promises) to labour and effect by one way or other, so that the said restitution may be intire and totall, as well in that which concerneth the Electorall dignity as the Palatinate; and that the Propositions which your Majesty makes by your Letter (to content my self to be Administrator to my son, and he to be invested with the said dignity, and put into present possession of the Palatinate) is but in all events if so be your Majesty could not attain to the totall restitution (the desired effect of your intentions) leaving me nevertheless to be at liberty to chuse the lesser of the two evils (if I may be permitted to term them so) the one by the totall restitution of my Estates, but with diminution, or rather annihilation (for so in effect it will be) in respect of my person of the Electorall dignity; th'other of the recovery of both by war, the events whereof are uncertain. First, I most humbly thank your Majesty for the paternall care which you continue and shew in this occasion; and which doth more comfort me, and my dear wife in our afflictions, then the fear of humane events can grieve or incline us to be willing to recover the loss of goods with the loss of honors. I will therefore use the liberty which your Majesty is pleased to give me in answering every particular point of your Letter. In the first whereof I observe the proceeding of my enemies, who require a personall submission (intended to precede all other things) under the safe conduct of the Emperour; whereas by natural order used in these occasions, the restitution which is materiall and substantiall, ought by reason to precede the other, being but a point of ceremony, at the least it is necessary that all things be resolved and concluded under such assurances as shall be held convenient; and then if the intentions on the Emperours part be reall and sincere, and without any aim to take advantage upon my person (as the Emperour Charles 5. did upon the Lantgrave of Hessen under the subtilty of a distinction of a syllable in safe conduct *Ewis* for *Einis*) the said submission may as well be made by a Deputy as otherwise, whereby I shall be freed

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from

from the apprehensions which the execution at *Prague*, & other cruelties exercised by the Imperialists, may easily impress in the mind of him who is unwilling to lose himselfe by a *quiete de Cœur*. Besides, a simple consent to such a submission under the specified condition, to yeild the Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria*, will be sufficient to prejudice my cause for ever. For the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* who have always protested against the translation of the Electorate; and the other Princes of *Germany* who have like feeling, will disavow their protestations in regard of him who shall abandon his own pretensions, and in stead of favouring me upon some breach of the Treaty, or otherwise, may be my opposites. Moreover, the experience of things past teach us what issue we may hereafter expect of the like conditions consented to on our part. The Emperour having manifestly abused us in two already, First in the instrument which I signed for the conditionall resignation of the Crown of *Bohemia* in the year 1621. Then in my ratification of the suspension of Arms this last Summer. The first having served the Emperour to accelerate his Treaty then on foot with *Bethlem Gabor*: The second to intimidate the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, that they might not undertake any thing against the Emperour, both the one and the other being divulged to the same effect, according to the knowledge which the Emperour had of these designs before any thing was therein resolved and concluded: And so will the Emperour in all appearance make his profit of this present proposition, and strike with one stone two blows, by hindering the progress of *Gabor* on the one side, and by continuing on the other the intimidation of the Princes of *Germany*, who may with reason excuse themselves if they move not for him, who hath bound himself hand and foot, and consented to a submission, which being yeilded to, it will be always in the Emperours power to break or go on, as he shall hold it expedient for himself. I do also promise my self that your Majesty will have regard that by such submission and intreaty, my undue proscription and banishment (which being done in prejudice of the constitutions of the Empire, are therefore held by the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* of no validity) be not approved, and thereby a mark of infamy set upon me and my posterity. Touching the second point, your Majesty may be pleased to remember, that on the part of *Spain* hope hath always been given me from the beginning, of a totall and intire restitution to my own person; yea the Earl of *Bristol* hath assured me by his Letters from *Madrid* in November 1622. when the marriage was not so much advanced at this time. That the King of *Spain* (in case of refusal of the totall restitution) would joyn his forces with
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those of your Majesty against the Emperor to constrain him thereunto : And yet in ſtead of the ſaid reſtitution, the tranſlation of my Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria* was ſince at *Ratisbone* agreed, and congratulated unto him from *Bruxels* ; the inferior Palatinate diſmembred by the grant of the *Bergſtreut* one of the beſt peeces thereof to the Elector of *Mentz* ; the ſuperior with the Bailiwicks granted to the Duke of *Nunburgh*, thereby to engage them further in the quarrel by the particular defence of that which generally the Imperialiſts have uſurped upon me ; they conſiſcate and ſeiſe the goods of my ſubjects, and thoſe that follow my party, ſparing neither widow nor orphans.

It ſeems therefore neceſſary above all things to have ſufficient aſſurance for the total reſtitution of my Electorate and Palatinates, before any new treaty of marriage be propoſed : Of the which treaties, as they are ordinarily handled and managed by the houſe of *Auſtria*, and drawn to length and delays, with the onely aim to the augmentation of their greatneſs, without reſpect to civil honeſty, word or promiſe, I have a dolefull experience in my own houſe in the perſon of one of my predeceſſors *Frederick* the ſecond, who contributed more to the firſt foundation which was laid for the greatneſs of the ſaid houſe of *Auſtria* then any other German Prince, and for recompence was allured and drawn by the ſpace of many years with treaties and promiſes of marriage, without any real intention (as was ſeen by the effect) ever to bring them to execution. Seeing therefore that he who had ſo well deſerved of the houſe of *Auſtria*, (which in all external appearance held him in greater eſtimation then any other German Prince) was nevertheless ſo unworthily uſed by them in a treaty of marriage ; I who have been unduly put into the Ban of the Empire, and ſpoiled of all my honours and goods, by the eagerneſs, hatred and uſurpation of the Emperor himſelf (whoſe daughter is propounded for the marriage in queſtion) know not what to hope but the ſame effect of fraud and deceit which my forenamed predeceſſor found, with a ſorrowful repentance of the evil when it was paſt remedy. And the Emperor wanteth but two or three years of leiſure, which he ſhall eaſily gain by a treaty of a marriage, to eſtabliſh in *Germany* the tranſlation of my Electoral dignity and Patrimonial eſtate, without any hope ever hereafter to recover the like opportunity as at this time, that my pretenſions are not prejudiced by a long interpoſition of time, and that the memory, of undue proceeding in the publication of the Ban againſt my perſon, and the ſaid tranſlation of my Electoral dignity, and ſeiſure of my patrimonial inheritance, are yet freſh in the affections and minds of the Princes of *Germany*, who are by the conſideration of their own intereſts moved

with the greater compassion to see the wounds of my miseries yet fresh and bleeding, and with passion and earnest desire to see them remedied. And in this place I will say something in answer to the last point of your Majesties Letter, wherein you commanded me to consider the means probable and feasible whereby my condition may be reduced to the former state, and to weigh your Majesties forces with those of your Allies, and others whereof your Majesty may hope and be assured.

If your Majesty hopeth for my restitution in *Germany* as an effect of the marriage with *Spain*, nothing else is to be done but attend the event with patience: And if you continue to distinguish between the *Spaniards* and the *Imperialists*, there is no more to be said on this subject, but as they have with joint consent conspired my ruine with the same forces, the same counsels, and the same designs, your Majesty will find (if you please to unmask the fair, seeming, and hidden malice of the *Spaniard*, the same effect, as in the end you found the open and declared violence and hostility of the *Imperialists*, who besieged your Majesties garri-sons in my Towns taken into your protection. I will use the liberty you have given me to discourse of your Majesties forces and those of your Allies, and what may further with good probability be hoped from other friends and well-willers.

In the last rank I place what may be hoped from the Princes of *Germany*, who, to wit the two Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, and in effect all the rest except those of the Catholique league, have sufficiently declared the disavowing of the Emperors proceeding against me, and their opinions that the peace of *Germany* dependeth upon my restitution; besides the Levies which they made in the beginning of the last summer, though by the unlucky accident of the Duke *Christian* of *Brunswick* they were soon after dismissed. And certainly no want of any other thing to be converted to my aid, but the countenance of a great Prince to support them against the power of the house of *Austria*, the same affections remaining still in them, and the same resolution to imbrace the first good occasion that shall be presented for the liberty of *Germany*. Will there want hands for the accomplishing of such a work, when it shall be undertaken openly and earnestly? seeing that the number of those that have their interest conjoyned with mine, is great and mighty: For the greater part of the people both horse and foot which marched under the Catholique banner, were of a contrary Religion to the Catholique, and of affection (as it is notorious to all the world) more inclined to the ruine of those Leagues then to their preservation. But the conduct of some powerfull Prince is necessary as well to the men of war, as we have seen by experience the last year. The King of *Denmark* is

he upon whom all have set their eyes : but he being a Prince full of circumspection, and unwilling to enter into play alone, answereth unto all instances which are made unto him to that end, That as the other Princes have their eyes upon him, so hath he his upon your Majesty.

It is not for me to judge ; but since you have commanded me, I will weigh them by the ballance of common judgment. That the felicity wherewith God hath blessed the person of your Majesty, having conjoyned the three Crowns of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* upon one head ; the power of the one of the three alone having done great matters in the affairs of *Europe* on this side the sea, yea when it was counterballanced by the other, gives demonstration what your Majesty may do with the joynt forces of the three together, when you shall be pleased to take a resolution therein, chiefly the question being for the interest of your own Children ; and by the voluntary contribution which we have already had in our support from your Majesty, we may easily comprehend what may be promised of them when the publike authority of your Majesty shall be conjoyned with their particular affections ; there being no Prince in the world more loved and revered of his subjects, nor more sovereign over their affections and means for the service of your person and Royal house. Touching the Allies, it is to my great grief that the unhappines of this time hath separated a great part of them, the united Provinces of *Germany*, who make profession of the same Religion whereof they acknowledge your Majesty for Defendor and Protector. But the same affection remaineth still in them entire and firm, though they have been constrained to yield to the present necessity of their affairs ; and the occasion presenting it self, your Majesty may accompt of them.

The rest, the Estates of the united Provinces to whom we have recourse in our afflictions, who support themselves by the help of God, and the situation of their Country and Forces of their people alone untill this time against the puissance of *Spain*, seconded by the Imperialists. And in stead of fainting under such a burthen, or of giving ear unto the overtures and submissions which from day to day are presented unto them, they now put themselves to the offensive, by a good Fleet prepared and ready to set sail to the *West-Indies*, to the end they may at least interrupt the peaceable and annual return of the gold and silver of those parts, by which the house of *Austria* doth continually advance their greatness. This is commended by all good men and lovers of the publike liberty, as the sole and only means to cast to the ground the fearfull power of *Spain*, even as a great tree of large extent cut up by the root ; but is held too great for such a little extent of Country as this is,
and

and yet practically, and to be done by forces answerable to the importance of such an enterprize : And if your Majesty would be pleased to use the Forces of this estate by sea and land, to the opposition of their enemies, and by consequence of mine, their profession of a loyall and sincere affection with the hazard of their lives and goods for the service of your Majesty, grounded upon the experience of things past, their present interest, and the judgement which may be made of the future, makes me assured that your Majesty may absolutely dispose of them ; and by their means being firmly conjoynd with your Majesty, give the Law to *Europe*.

It is in obedience to your Majesties commandment that I have enlarged my self so far into this discourse, which I will send with my most humble thanks for the continuance of your most gracious and paternall bounty, particularly shewed in the care you have of the education of my eldest son in your Court, who with all the rest are at your Majesties disposing, and we hope to live notwithstanding our hard and dolefull condition, to yeild unto your Majesty the fruits of a devout and filiall gratitude, and I will remain untill the last day of my life,

*From the Hague, Decemb.
30. 1623. new stile.*

Your Majesties most, &c.

FREDERICK

Postscript.

I am advertised from a good part, that the Elector of *Mentz* and the other Princes of the Popish league are very instant with the Elector of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* to perswade them to acknowledge the Duke of *Bavaria* as an Elector of the Empire : which if they obtain, it were easie to judge how much it would prejudice my affairs, and the common cause of the Empire. I therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to prevent and hinder such an evil, by the interposition of good offices, and exhortations to the said secular Electors, be it by some Ambassador, by serious Letters, or such other way as you shall hold meet and suitable to the importance of the matter, which above all requireth singular celerity. Your Majesty shall increase more and more my obligations, and that of the publike of *Germany*, &c.

Abignoto from Madrid.

THe Spaniard begins now to be sensible of the great disobligation and gross oversight he committed in suffering the Prince to go away without his *Infanta*: For it hath given occasion of advantage to the *English* (who now seem indifferent whether they match with him or no) to proceed more stoutly, and to add to the former Articles which the Prince had sworn at his being here, certain new Propositions about the Palatinate, which was thought to be unfit to motion at his being here, by reason of the engagement of his person. And there is a Commission sent to the Earl of *Bristol* to treat of these two businesses jointly; and if the King of *Spain* give not a satisfactory answer therein, then he is to return home. *Buckingham* hath little obligation to *Spain*, therefore for his own particular he hath good reason if he cannot prop himself this way, to find other means for his support: unkindnesses passed between him and *Olivarez*, and a hot heart-burning between him and *Bristol*, who told him here before the Prince, that being so far his superior in honor and might, he might haply contemn him, but he could never hate him. Ever since his departure he hath attempted to crush *Bristol* to pieces, who is out of purse two thousand pound of his own since his coming hither, & he is so crossed that he cannot get a penny from *England*. If he cannot get a surrender of the Palatinate to the Kings mind, he is in a poor case; for he must hence presently: he is much favoured of the King here and *Olivarez*, therefore they will do much for him before *Buckingham* work his revenge upon him: he hath received lately more comfortable dispatches from *England*, and in the last the King sent him, he requires his advice in certain things. The Proxie the King of *Spain* had to marry the *Infanta* in the Princes name, is proroged till March. There is great resentment of the delays in the Court here; and the *Infanta* hath given over studying of *English*. The two Ambassadors here ever since the Princes departure, have visited the *Infanta* as vassals; but now they carry themselves like Ambassadors again. We are all here in suspense, and a kind of maze to see the event of things, and how matters will be pieced together again, we know not.

*A Memoriall to the King of Spain, by Sir Walter Ashton,
Ambassader in Spain. Aug. 29. 1624.*

SIr *Walter Ashton*, Ambassador to the King of *Great Britain*, saith, That the King his Master hath commanded him to represent to your Majesty, that having declared to your Majesty the reasons why he could receive no satisfaction by your Majesties answer of the first of *January*, and that thereby according to the unanimous consent of his Parliament he came to dissolve both the Treaties of the Match and Palatinate, he received another answer from your Majesty, wherein he finds less ground to build upon; and having understood that either by the *Padre de Maestro*, or your Majesties Ambassadors which have assisted these dayes past in this Court, there was something to be propounded and declared touching the business of the Palatinate, whereby he might have received satisfaction, the said Ambassadors untill now have not said anything at all to purpose; which comparing with other circumstances of their ill carriage, he gathers and doubts, that according to the ill affection, and depraved intentions wherewith they have proceeded in all things, but especially in particular they have laboured to hinder the good correspondency and so necessary and desired intelligence which should be conserved with your Majesty. Furthermore he saith, That the King his Master hath commanded him to give account to your Majesty, that in an Audience which he gave to the *Marques de Injiosa* and *Don Carlo Colonna*, they under Cloak and pretext of zeal & particular care of his person, pretended to discover unto him a very great conjuration against his person and Royall Dignity, and it was,

That at the beginning of the Parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham* had consulted with certain Lords, of the arguments and means which were to be taken touching the breaking and dissolving of the Treaties of the Palatinate and Match; and the consultations passed thus far, That if his Majesty would not accommodate himself to their counsels, they would give him a house of pleasure whither he might retire himself to his sports, in regard that the Prince had now years sufficient to, and parts answerable for the government of the Kingdom.

The Information was of that quality, that it was sufficient to put impression in him of perpetual jealousies, in regard that through the ribs of the Duke he gave wounds to the Prince his son, and the Nobility;
and

and it is not probable that they could bring to effect such designs without departing totally from the obligation of faith and loyalty which they owed to his Person and Crown, because the Lords made themselves culpable as concealers: And it is not likely that the Duke would hurl himself into such an enterprize, without communicating it first with the Prince, and knowing his pleasure.

And because this information might be made more clear, he did make many instances unto the said Ambassadors, that they would give him the Authors of the said Conjuraton, this being the sole means whereby their own honor might be preserved, &c. whereby their great zeal and care they had pretended to have of his person, might appear. But instead of confirming the great zeal they had pretended to bear him; all the answer they made him, consisted of Arguments against the discovery of the Conspirators: So that for the confirmation of the said report, there remained no other means then the examination of some of his Councell of State, and principall subjects, which he put in execution, and made them take oath every one particularly in his own presence, and commanded that such interrogatories and questions should be propounded unto them that were most pertinent to the accusation; so that neither part, particle, or circumstance remained, which was not exactly examined and winnowed, and he found in the Duke and the rest that were accused, a sincere Innocency touching the accusations and imputation wherewith they were charged.

This being so, he turned to make new instances unto the said Ambassadors, that they should not prefer the discovery of the names of the Conspirators to the security of his Royall person, and truth and honor of themselves, and the hazard of an opinion to be held, and judged the Traytors of a plot of such malice, sedition and danger. But the Ambassadors remaining in a knotty kind of obstinacy, resolved to conceal the Authors. Nevertheless afterterwards he gave them an audience, wherein the Marquess of *Injiosa* took his leave.

Few days after they demanded new audience, pretending that they had something to say that concerned the publique good, and conduced to the entire restitution of the Palatinate, with desire to lose no opportunity that might conduce thereunto, and therewith the confirmation and conservation of the friendship with your Majesty having suspended some few days to give them audience, thinking that being thereby better advised, they would resolve upon a wiser course, and declare the Authors of so pernicious an action, and having since made many instances, and attended the success of so long patience, he sent his Secretary,

tary, and Sir Francis Cottington Secretary to the Prince, commanding them that they should signifie unto the Ambassadors, that he desired nothing more then the continuance of the friendship 'twixt both the Crowns; and if so they had any thing to say, they would communicate it to the said Secretaries, as persons of so great trust, which he sent to that end: And if they made difficulty of this, that they would chuse amongst his Councell of State, those which they liked best, and he would command that they should presently repair unto them; and if this did not likewise seem best unto them, that they would send what they had to say in a Letter sealed up, by whom should seem best unto them, and he would receive it with his own hands. But the Ambassadors misbehaving themselves in all that was propounded, the said Secretaries according to the order which they brought, told them, that they being the Authors of an information so dangerous and seditious, had made themselves incapable to treat further with the King their Master; and were it not for the respect to the King his dear and beloved brother and their Master, and in contemplation of their condition as Ambassadors of such a Majesty, he would and could by the Law of Nations, and the right of his own Royall Justice, proceed against them with such severity as their offence deserved, but for the reasons aforesaid he would leave the reparation hereof to the justice of their King, of whom he would demand and require it.

In conformity whereof the said Ambassador of the King of *Great Britain*, saith, that the King his Master hath commanded him to demand reparation & satisfaction of your Majesty against the said Marquis *de Injiosa* and Don *Carlos Colomma*, making your Majesty Judge of the great scandall and enormous offence which they have committed against them and the publick right, and expect justice from your Majesty in the demonstrations and chastisements which your Majesty shall inflict upon them, which for his proceeding sake with your Majesty, and out of your Majesties own uprightness and goodness ought to be expected.

Furthermore he saith, that the King his Master hath commanded him to assure your Majesty, that till now he hath not mingled the correspondence and friendship he held with your Majesty, with the faults and offences of your Ministers, but leaves and restrains them to their own persons; and that he remains with your Majesty in the true and ancient friendship and brotherhood, as heretofore; and that he is ready to give hearing to any thing that shall be reason, and to answer thereunto: and when your Majesty is pleased to send your Ambassadors thither, he will make them all good treaty, and receive them with that good love that is due.

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For conclusion, the said Ambassador humbly beseecheth your Majesty will be pleased to observe and weigh the care and tenderness wherewith the King his Master proceeded with your Majesties Ambassadors, not obliging to precipitate resolutions, but giving them much time to prove and give light of that which they had spoken; and besides opening unto them many ways that they might comply with their orders, if they had any such. Which course if they had taken, they might well have given satisfaction to the King his Master, and moderated the so grounded opinion of their ill proceedings against the peace, and so good intelligence and correspondence betwixt both the Crowns.

Madrid, Aug. 5. 1624.

The Petition of Francis Philips to King James for the release of Sir Robert Philips Prisoner in the Tower.

Most dread Sovereign,

IF the Thrones of Heaven and Earth were to be solicited one and the same way, I should have learned by my often praying to God for your Majesty, how to pray to your Majesty for others. But the Liturgies of the Church and Court are different, as in many other points, so especially in this, That in the one there is not so poor a friend but may offer his vows immediately to the Almighty; whereas in the other a right loyal subject may pour out his soul in vain, without an *Ora pro nobis*. Now such is the obscure condition of your humble Suppliant, as I know no Saint about your sacred Majesty to whom I can address my orisons, or in whose mediation I dare repose the least assurance. Let it be therefore lawful for me in this extraordinary occasion, to pass the ordinary forms; and raising my spirits above uncertainties, to fix my intire faith upon your Majesties supreme goodness, which is and ever ought to be esteemed both the best Tribunal, and the best Sanctuary for a good cause. But how good soever my cause be, it would be high presumption in me to stand upon it. I have therefore chosen rather to cast my self at your Majesties feet, from whence I would not willingly rise, but remain a monument of sorrow and humility till I have obtained some gracious answer to my Petition: For though your Majesties thoughts cannot discern so low, as to conceive how much it importeth a poor distressed

Suppliant to be reviled, neglected, yet you may be pleased to believe that we are as highly affected, and as much anguished with the extremities that press our little fortunes, as Princes are with theirs. Which I speak not out of any pride I take in comparing small things with great, but only to dispose your Majesty to a favourable construction of my words, if they seem to be overcharged with zeal and affection, or to express more earnestness then perhaps your Majesty may think the business merits as my self values it. The suit I am to make to your Majesty is no sleight one, it may be easily granted without references: For I dare assure your Majesty upon my life, it is neither against the Laws of the Kingdom, nor will diminish any of your treasure, either that of your coffers, or that of your peoples hearts; it being an act of clemencie, or rather a word, for even that will satisfie to create in your poor dejected Suppliant a new heart, and send him away as full of content as he is now of grief and despair. Nor is it for my self I thus implore your Majesties grace, but for one that is far more worthy, and in whom all that I am consists, my dear Brother, who I know not by what misfortune hath fallen, or rather been pushed into your Majesties displeasure; not in dark and crooked ways, as corrupt and ill-affected subjects use to walk, and near to break their necks in; but even in the great road, which both himself & all good *Englishmen* that know not the paths of the Court, would have sworn would have led most safely and most directly to your Majesties service from your Majesties displeasure; there needs no other invention to crucifie a generous and honest-minded suppliant, upon whom hath issued and been derived a whole torrent of exemplary punishment, wherein his reputation, his person, and his estate grievously suffered.

For having (upon the last process of Parliament) retired himself to his poor house in the Countrey, with hope a while to breathe after these troublesome affairs, and still breathing nothing but your Majesties service; he was sent for ere he had finished his Christmas, by a Sergeant at Arms, who arrested him in his own house with as much terror as belongs to the apprehending of treason it self: But (thanks be to God) his conscience never started; and for his obedience herein shewed, it was not in the power of any authority to surprize it: For at the instant without asking one minutes time of resolution, he rendered himself to the officers discretion, who (according to his directions) brought him up captive, and presented him at the Councell Table as a Delinquent, from whence he was as soon committed to the Tower, where he ever since hath been kept close prisoner, and that with so strict a hand, as his own beloved wife and my self having sometime since urgent and unsuigned occasion to speak with him about some private business of this Family; and hereupon making humble petition to the Lords of your Majesties

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most honorable Privy Councell for the favour of accessse, we were to our great discomforts denied it, by reason as their Lordships were pleased to declare unto us, that he had not satisfied your Majesty fully in some points, which being so far from being his fault, as I dare say it is the greatest part of his affliction, that he sees himself debarred from means of doing it. The Lords Commissioners that were appointed by your Majesty to examine his offence, since the first week of his imprisonment, have not done him the honor to be with him; by which means not onely his body, but (the most part of his mind) his humble intentions to your Majesty are kept in restraint. May it please therefore your most excellent Majesty now at length after five moneths imprisonment and extreame durance, to ordain such expedition in this cause, as may stand with your justice, and yet not avert your mercy, either of them will serve our turns; but that which is most agreeable to your Royall and gracious inclination, will best accomplish our desire. To live still in close prison is all one to be buried alive; and for a man that hath any hope of salvation, it were better to pray for the day of judgment, then to lie languishing in such waking misery; yet not ours but your Majesties will be done. For if in your princely wisdom you shall not think it a fit season to restore him to his former condition, or to accept the fruit of his correction, an humble and penitent submission for his unhappines in offending your Majesty, which I assure my self is long since ripe and grown to full perfection in so forward affection, and so proper for all duties as his hath ever been: If (I say) it be not yet time to have mercy, but that he must still remain within the walls of bondage to expiate that which he did in these priviledged ones, my hope is, that he will die at any time for your Majesties service, and will find patience to live any where for your Majesties pleasure; only thus much let me beseech your Majesties grace again and again, not to deny your humble and most obedient suppliant, that you will at least be pleased to mitigate the rigor of his sufferings so far as to grant him the liberty of the Tower, that he may no longer groan under the burthen of those incomodities which daily prejudice his health & fortune in a higher degree (I believe) then either your Majesty knows or intends; I am the more bold to importune your Majesty in the point of favour, because it concerns my own good & preservation: For your Maj. shall deigne to understand that I your suppliant have no means to live but what proceeds from his brotherly love and bounty; so as if I may not be suffered to go to him and receive order for my maintenance, I know none but *Our Father which art in heaven* to beg my daily bread on; he that was my father on earth is long since departed (if I have not been misinformed) who was then beyond sea, your Majesties anger was to him little better then the messenger of death, though I perswade my self it was rather sent in your Majesties Name then in your Warrant.

Suppliant to be reviled, neglected, yet you may be pleased to believe that we are as highly affected, and as much anguished with the extremities that press our little fortunes, as Princes are with theirs. Which I speak not out of any pride I take in comparing small things with great, but only to dispose your Majesty to a favourable construction of my words, if they seem to be overcharged with zeal and affection, or to express more earnestness then perhaps your Majesty may think the business merits as my self values it. The suit I am to make to your Majesty is no sleight one, it may be easily granted without references: For I dare assure your Majesty upon my life, it is neither against the Laws of the Kingdom, nor will diminish any of your treasure, either that of your coffers, or that of your peoples hearts: it being an act of clemencie, or rather a word, for even that will satisfie to create in your poor dejected Suppliant a new heart, and send him away as full of content as he is now of grief and despair. Nor is it for my self I thus implore your Majesties grace, but for one that is far more worthy, and in whom all that I am consists, my dear Brother, who I know not by what misfortune hath fallen, or rather been pushed into your Majesties displeasure; not in dark and crooked ways, as corrupt and ill-affected subjects use to walk, and near to break their necks in; but even in the great road, which both himself & all good *Englishmen* that know not the paths of the Court, would have sworn would have led most safely and most directly to your Majesties service from your Majesties displeasure; thereupon to crucifie a generous and honest-minded suppliant and been derived a whole torrent of exemption in his reputation, his person, and his estate grieve

For having (upon the last process of Parliament) poor house in the Countrey, with hope a while troublesome affairs, and still breathing nothing but woe; he was sent for ere he had finished his Christian Arms, who arrested him in his own house with as to the apprehending of treason in self: But (to his conscience never started; and for his obedience/in the power of any authority to surprize it: I without asking one minutes time of resolution, he re-officers discretion, who (according to his direct captive, and presented him at the Councell Table whence he was as soon committed to the Tower, where he ever since hath been kept close prisoner, and that with so strict a hand, as his own beloved wife and my self having sometime since urgent and unassigned occasion to speak with him about some private business of this Family; and hereupon making humble petition to the Lords of your Majesties

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 self it was rather sent in your Majesties Name then in your Warrant.

For what use could your Majesty have of his not being, who neither was, nor could be ever but your faithful and affectionate servant, who in his soul adored your Royal Majesty as much as ever mortal man did any mortal God; lastly, whose heart was so bent to please your Majesty, as the very sound of your displeasure was enough to break it. And more perfect obedience then this can no subject shew, to make his Sovereigns favour equal to life and death.

Pardon me, dread Sovereign, if in this occasion I cannot hinder my Fathers ghost from appearing: For how can it possibly be at rest, as long as your fatal displeasure reigns still in his family, and makes it the house of continual mourning? Remove then (if it be your blessed will) the clouds that have been so long hanging over our heads; and let not the present storm that wants matter to produce, extort a thunderbolt: For what is *Philips*, or the son of *Philips*, that your Majesty should so destroy them? We are unworthy of *Cesar's* anger, as well in regard of our means as of our innocencie?

To conclude my prayers, I most humbly beseech your Majesty to forgive them; and let not the ignorance of the stile, or ceremonies used in the Court, be imputed to your humble and well-meaning Suppliant, as a willing want of reverence; in whose breast these two legal qualities, Love and Fear, do more vigorously meet, or who could more willingly part with his essence, to add the least acquisition to the greatness and majesty of his Sovereign. True it is, that the subject that employed the faculties of my soul at this present, is of such a nature, as I could not deny it the uttermost of my affection; and he that thinks he can never speak enough, may easily speak too much. That neither my self nor my brother have failed in any thing but words, that your Majesty will pardon, without that all crimes are equal, and as much danger lies in an humble Petition as in a plot of high Treason.

Be pleased then (most gracious Sovereign) to give us back one gracious word, and keep our undoubted hearts, at least shew us so much mercy as to judge us according to your own goodness: For if we had not liberty to appeal thither, we should be in danger of losing the best part of our birthright, and instead of your Majesties subjects become other mens slaves. From your Majesty therefore, and from no other, your faithful suppliant craves and expects the joyfull word of grace: which if I may be so happy as to carry my poor brother before he grows any elder in misery, I shall fill an honest heart with prayers and thanksgiving: And for my particular, your Majesties greatest favour and liberality shall not more oblige or better affect others, then your Royal clemencie shall me. In memory whereof I shall daily pray, that your Majesty

Majesty may obtain all your desires of heaven, and so be obeyed in all your commandments on earth, that we may live to see your holy intentions to take effect for the good of Christendom, and so you may honour the age you live in with the miracles of your wisdom. Finally, that your felicity in this world may overtake that in the highest to make you wear a perpetual Crown to Gods glory and your own.

*Your Majesties most humble, loyal, and
true-hearted English subject,*

FRANCIS PHILIPS.

Oliver St. Johns to the Major of Marlborough
against the Benevolence.

AS I think, this kind of Benevolence is against Law, Reason, and Religion.

First, the Law is in the Statute called *Magna Charta*, 9. H. 3. cap. 29. That no Free-man be any way destroyed but by the Lawes of this Land.

Secondly, besides that the said Statute of *Magna Charta* is by all Princes since established and confirmed, it is in the speciall case of voluntary or free grants enacted and decreed 25. E. 1. cap. 5. That no such be drawn into custome, and cap. 6. That henceforth be taken no such Aids, Tasks, free Grants, or Prizes, but by assent of all the Realm, and for the good of the same. And in *primo* R. 3. cap. 2. That the Subjects and Commons in this Realm from henceforth shall in no wise be charged by any charge or imposition called a Benevolence, or any such like charge, and that such exactions called a Benevolence, shall be damned and annulled for ever.

First, it is not onely without, but against reason, that the Commous in their severall and particulars, should be made relievers or suppliers of his Majesties wants, who neither know his wants, nor the sums that may be this way raised to supply the same.

Secondly, it is against reason that the particular and severall Commons distracted, should oppose their judgment and discretion to the judgement and discretion of the wisdom of their Land assembled in Parliament, who have there denied any such aid.

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It argueth in us want of love and due respect of our Sovereign Lord and King, which ought to be in every of us towards each other, which is to stay every one which we see falling, and reduce the current. What prosperity can there be expected to befall either our King or Nation, when the King shall haply of ignorance, or ('tis I hope) out of forgetfulness or headiness, commit so great a sin against his God, as is the violating of his great and solemn oath taken at his coronation for the maintaining of his Lawes, Liberties and Customes of this Noble Realm, & his Subjects, some for fear, some in pride, some to please others, shall joyn hands to forward so unhappy an achievement, can he any way more highly offend the Divine Majesty (whom he then invoked) as also can he then give unto another. *Hen. 4.* If such an one should rise up (which God forbid) a greater advantage, yet these Articles put up against *R. 2.* be looked on, it will appear that the breach of the Laws, infringing the Liberties, & failing in this his oath, were the main blemishes wherewith he could distain and spot the honor of that good and gentle Prince, who indeed was rather by others abused, then of himselfe mischievously any way disposed.

Secondly, as very irreligiously and uncharitably we help forward the Kings Majesty in that grievous sin of perjury; so into what an hellish danger we plunge our selves even so many of us as contribute, is to be learned out of the severall curses and sentences of excommunication given out against all such givers, and namely the two following, *viz.* the great curse given out the 36. *H. 3.* against all breakers of the Liberties and customes of the Realm of *England*, with their Abettors, Councellors, and Executioners, wherein by the sentence of *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the chief part of all the Bishops of this Land, are *ipso facto* excommunicated. And that of 24. *Ed. 1.* denounced immediately upon the Acts made against such Benevolence, free Grants and Impositions had and taken without common assent; which because it is not so large as that former, I will set down as our Books deliver the same.

IN the Name of the Father, Son, and holy Ghost, *Amen.* Whereas our Sovereign Lord the King, to the honour of God, and of the Holy Church, and for the common profit of the Realm, hath granted for him and his heirs for ever these Articles above written: *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, admonished all his Province once, twice, and thrice, because that shortness will not suffer so much delay, as to give knowledge to all the people of *England* of these presents in writing. We therefore enjoyn all persons of what estate soever they be, that they and every of them as much as in them is, shal uphold and maintain those Articles granted by our Sovereign Lord the King in all points; and all those that in any point do resist or break those Ordinances, or in any manner hereafter procure, counsel, or in any ways assent to, resist or break those Ordinances, or go about it by word or deed openly or privatly by any maner of pretence or colour: We therefore the said Archbishop by our authority in this Writing expressed, do excommunicate and accurse, and from the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from all the company of Heaven, and from all the Sacraments of the holy Church do sequester and exclude.

Sir, hearing that to morrow the Justices will be here about this busie work of Benevolence, wherein you have both sent unto, and talked with me, and thinking that it may be you would deliver up the names of the not-givers. Forasmuch as I think I shal scarcely be at home to make my further answer, if I should be called for, I pray you both hereby to understand my mind your self, and if cause so require to let the Justices perceive as much. So leaving others to their own consciences, whereby in that last and dreadfull day they shal stand or fall before him who will reward every man according to his deeds, I commend you to the grace of the Almighty, and rest,

Your loving Neighbour and Friend,

OLIVER St. JOHN.

*The Justices of Peace in the County of Devon to the
Lords of the Conncell.*

THe Letters from his sacred Majesty unto the Justices of Peace in this County, together with your Lordships, have been opened and read according to the directions in your Lordships Letter to our high Sheriff expressed, and the weighty business therein contained, hath been maturely and speedily debated, according to our most bounden duties to his excellent Majesty, and the many concurring necessities which press the expedition of such a service: and in those respects we can do no less then give your Lordships a timely knowledge of the vote and opinion of us all, which was this day almost in the same words delivered by every of us.

That the sum enjoyned to be levied by the first of March, is not to be so suddenly raised out of this County by any means, much less by way of perswasion; and hereof we had lately a certain experience in the business of the loans, which notwithstanding the fear apprehended by the presence of the Pursivant, hath come at least 6000. l. short of the expected sum, and without him we suppose would have been much less, and we are confident that nothing but extremities, which had need also be back't by Law, will raise his Majesty a sufficient quantity of treasure for his occasions. For our selves, at the time of the proposition of the forementioned Loans, we did according to his Majesties proclamation and instruction then sent us, engage our faithfull promise to our Countrey-men, that if they willingly yielded to his Majesties necessities at this time, we would never more be Instruments in the levy of aids of that kind, his Majesties intentions so clearly manifested not to make that a president, was the cause of that engagement, and we conceive it cannot be for his honor or service for us to be the means of such a breach. That his Majesties affairs and of his Allies, do all want an instant supply of Royall provisions; his provident and Princely Letter hath fully taught us; but we have much more cause to wish then hope that these parts so lately and so many ways impoverished, can yeild it.

Your Lordships may vouchsafe to remember how much this County hath been charged since the beginning of the war, though sometimes refreshed with payment, which we acknowledge with humble thanks. By our own late loan of 35000. l. and 2000. l. more sent by Sir Thomas

Wise

Wife and Mr. *Siroad*, and yet there remains due to it for the Coat and Conduct of their own impress Soldiers, for divers voyages for the Recruits intended for the Isle of *Ree* for the conduct of the whole Army hence, besides three Companies stand yet here for *Silly*, and no small number of scattered sick, whose mortall infection hath more discouraged the people then the charge.

That many and almost unaccountable are our ways of expence, few or none have we of in-come for the want of Trade, how then can there be any quantity of money to disburse; their bodlies and goods are left which (we are assured) will be ever ready for his Majesties defence, and to be employed in his Majesties service as far forth as ever our forefathers have yeilded them to his Majesties Royall Progenitors.

Particular proofs we would have made of the peoples disability to have satisfied his Majesties demands, but we had rather adventure our selves, and this humble advertisement upon your Lordships private and favourable instructions, then to expose his Majesties honor to publique deniall, and mispend his pretious time, which applied to more certain courses may attain his Princely and religious ends, wherein to be his Majesties Instruments will be our earthly happines, and singular comfort to be your Lordships obedient servants.

*The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishops concerning
King James his Directions for Preachers, with the
Directions, Aug. 14. 1622.*

Right Reverend Father in God, and my very good Lord and Brother, I have received from the Kings most excellent Majesty, a Letter, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

Most reverend Father in God, right trusty and right entirely beloved Councillor, we greet you well. Forasmuch as the abuses and extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have been in all times repressed in this Realm by some Act of Councill or State, with the advice or resolution of grave and learned Prelates, insomuch as the very licencing of Preachers had beginning by an Order of Star-Chamber the 8. day of July in the 19. year of King *Henry 8.* our Noble Predecessor: and whereas at this present divers young Students by reading of late Writers and ungrounded Divines, do broach many times unprofitable, unsound, seditious and dangerous Doctrine, to the scandall of the Church, and disquieting

ing of the State and present Government; We upon humble representation to us of these inconveniences by your self and sundry other grave and reverend Prelats of this Church, as also of our Princely care and zeal for the extirpation of schisme and dissention growing from these seeds, and for the setting of a religious and peaceable government both of the Church and State, do by these our speciall Letters straitly charge and command you to use all possible care and diligence that these limitations and cautions herewith sent unto you concerning Preachers, be duly and straitly henceforth observed and put in practice by the severall Bishops in their severall Diocesses within your jurisdictions. And to this end our pleasure is, that you send them forthwith severall Copies of these Directions, to be by them speedily sent and communicated to every Parson, Vicar and Curate, Lecturer and Minister in every Cathedrall and Parish Church within their severall Diocesses; and that you earnestly require them to employ their uttermost indeavour in the performance of this so important a business, letting them know that we have a special eye to their proceedings, and expect a strict account thereof both of you and them, and every of them. And these our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge in that behalf. Given under our Signet at our Castle of *Windsor* the fourteenth day of August, in the twentieth year of our reign of *England, France, and Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the fifty sixt.

Directions concerning Preachers.

THAT no Preacher under the degree of a Bishop, or a Dean of a Cathedrall or Collegiat Church, and that upon the Kings days, and set Festivals, do take occasion by the expounding of any Text of Scripture whatsoever, to fall to any set Discourse or Common-place, otherwise then by opening the coherence and division of his Text, which be not comprehended and warranted in essence, substance, effect, or naturall inference within some one of the Articles of Religion set forth by authority in the Church of *England*, and the two Books of Homilies set forth by the same authority in the year 1562. or in some of the Homilies set forth by authority of the Church of *England*, not onely for the help of non-preaching, but withall for a Patern of a Boundary as it were for the preaching Ministers; and for their further instruction for the performance hereof, that they forthwith read over and peruse diligently the said Book of Articles, and the two Books of Homilies.

2. That no Parson, Vicar, Curat, or Lecturer, shall preach any Sermon.

mon or Collation hereafter upon Sundays or Holidays in the afternoon in any Cathedral or Parish-Church throughout the Kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some Text taken out of the Creed, the ten Commandments, or the Lords prayer, (Funeral-sermons only excepted) And that those Preachers be most encouraged and approved of who spend their afternoons exercises in the examination of Children in their Catechism, which is the most antient and laudable custom of teaching in the Church of *England*.

3. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever under the degree of a Bishop, or Dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to preach in any popular Auditory the deep points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or the universality, efficacie, resistibility or irresistibility of Gods grace; but leave these Theams to be handled by learned men, and that moderately and modestly by way of use and application, rather then by way of positive doctrine, as being fitter for Schools and Universities then for simple Auditories.

4. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever shal presume from henceforth in any Auditory within this Kingdom to declare, limit, or bound out by way of positive doctrine in any Sermon or Lecture the power, prerogative, jurisdiction, authority, right or duty of sovereign Princes; or otherwise meddle with these matters of State, and the differences betwixt Princes and people, then as they are instructed and presided in the Homilies of Obedience, and in the rest of the Homilies and Articles of Religion set forth as before is mentioned by publique Authority, but rather confine themselves wholly to these two heads, Faith and good life, which are all the subject of ancient Homilies and Sermons.

5. That no Preacher of what title or denomination soever shall causelessly or without invitation of the Text fall into bitter invectives, or undecent railing speeches against the persons of either Papists or Puritans; but modestly and gravely when they are occasioned thereunto by the text of Scripture, cleer both the doctrine and discipline of the Church of *England* from the aspersions of either adversary, especially when the Auditory is suspected with the one or the other infection.

6. Lastly, That the Archbishop and Bishops of this Kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good cause to blame for their former remissness) be more wary and choise in the licensing of Preachers, and revoke all grants

made to any Chancellor, Official or Commissary, to pass Licences in this kind. And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom, a new body, and severed from the antient Clergie of *England*, as being neither Parsons, Vicars, nor Curates, be licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties only upon recommendations of the party from the Bishop of the Diocess under his hand and seal, with a *Fiat* from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and a confirmation under the great seal of *England*; and that such as transgress any of these Directions, be suspended by the Lord Bishop of that Diocess, or in his default by the Lord Archbishop of that Province (*ab officio & beneficio*) for a year and a day, untill his Majesty by the advice of the next Convocation shall prescribe some further punishment.

By this you see his Majesties Princely care that men should preach Christ crucified, obedience to the higher powers, and honest and Christian conversation of life, but in a regular form, and not that every young man should take unto himself an exorbitant liberty to teach what he listeth to the offence of his Majesty, and to the disturbance and disquiet of the Church and Commonwealth. I can give unto your Lordship no better directions for the performance hereof then are prescribed to you in his Majesties Letter, and the Schedule hereunto annexed. Wherefore I pray you be very carefull, since it is the Princely pleasure of his Majesty to require an exact account both of you and of me for the same. Thus not doubting but by your Register or otherwise you will cause these Instructions to be communicated to your Clergy, I leave you to the Almighty, and remain your Lordships loving brother,

Croydon, Aug. 15.

1622.

George Cant.

*King James Instructions to the Archbishop of Canterbury
concerning Orders to be observed by Bishops in
their Diocesses. 1622.*

1. **T**hat the Lords the Bishops be commanded to their severall Sees, excepting those that are in necessary attendance at Court.

2. That none of them reside upon his land or lease that he hath purchased, nor on his Commendum if he hold any; but in one of his Episcopall Houses if he have any, and that he waste not the woods where any are left.

3. That they give their charge in their Trienniall Visitations, and at other convenient times both by themselves and the Archdeacons, and that the Declaration for settling all questions in difference, be strictly observed by all parties.

4. That there be a speciall care taken by them all, that the Ordinations be solemn and not of unworthy persons.

5. That they take great care concerning the Lecturers in their severall Diocess, for whom we give these special Directions following.

First, That in all Parishes the after-noon Sermons may be turned into Catechising by Question and Answer, when and wheresoever there is no great cause apparent to break this ancient and profitable order.

Secondly, that every Bishop ordain in his Diocess, that every Lecturer do read Divine Service according to the Liturgy printed by authority, in his Surplice and Hood, before the Lecture.

Thirdly, That where a Lecture is set up in a Market Town, it may be read by a company of grave and Orthodox Divines neer adjoyning, and in the same Diocess, and that they preach in Gowns, not in Cloaks, as too many use to do.

Fourthly, That if a Corporation do maintain a single Lecturer, he be not suffered to preach till he professe his willingnesse to take upon him a living with cure of souls within that Incorporation, and that he actually take such Benefice or Cure, so soon as it shall be fairly procured for him.

Fifthly, That the Bishops do countenance and encourage the grave &c. Orthodox Divines of their Clergy, and that they use means by some of the Clergy, or others, that they may have knowledge how both Lecturers

cturers and Preachers within their Diocess, do behave themselves in their Sermons, that so they may take order for any abuse accordingly.

Sixthly, That the Bishops suffer none under Noblemen, or men qualified by Law, to have any private Chaplain in his house.

Seventhly, That they take speciall care that Divine Service be diligently frequented, as well for Prayers and Catechismes as for Sermons, and take particular note of all such as absent themselves as Recusants, or others.

Eighthly, That every Bishop that by our grace and favour, and good opinion of his service, shall be nominated by us to another Bishoprick, shall from that day of nomination not presume to make any Lease for three lives or one and twenty years, or concurrent Lease, or any way renew any estate, or cut any Wood or Timber, but meerly receive his Rents due and to quit the place. For we think it an hatefull thing that any man leaving the Bishoprick should almost undo his Successor. And if any man shall presume to break this Order, We will refuse him Our Royall assent, and keep him at the place he hath so abused.

Ninthly and lastly, We command you to give us an account every year the second of *January* of the performance of these our commands. Subscribed at *Dorchester*.

I. R.

Bishop

*Bishop of Winchester to his Archdeacon to the
same effect.*

Salutem in Christo. I have received Letters from the most Reverend Father in God the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the tenor whereof foloweth.

Right reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and brother, I have received from the Kings most excellent Majesty a Letter, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

Most reverend Father in God, right trusty and right entirely beloved Councillor, we greet you well. For as much as the abuses and extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit, have been, &c.

According to the tenor of these Letters you are to see that these limitations and cautions herewith sent unto you be duly and strictly from henceforth observed, and put in practice, and that several Copies of those Directions be speedily communicated to every one of those whom they shall concern, and that you may employ your uttermost endeavors in the performance of so important a business, considering that his Majesty will have a special eye over you and me, and expect a strict accompt at both our hands, whereof praying you to have all possible care, I commend your endeavours therein to the blessing of God.

Your very loving friend,

From *Farnham*, Aug. 15.

1622.

Lan. Winton.

*The Bishop of Lincoln L. Keeper, to the Bishop of London,
concerning Preaching and Catechising.*

My very good Lord,

I Doubt not before this time you have received from me the directions of his most excellent Majesty concerning Preaching and Preachers, which are so graciously set down, that no godly or discreet man can otherwise then acknowledge that they do much tend to edification, if he take them not up upon report, but do punctually consider the tenor of the words as they lie, and doth not give an ill construction to that which may receive a fair interpretation. Notwithstanding because some few Church-men and many of the people have sinisterly conceived, as we here find, that those Instructions do tend to the restraint of the exercise of Preaching, and do in some sort abate the number of Sermons, and so consequently by degrees do make a breach to ignorance and superstition, his Majesty in his Princely wisdom hath thought fit that I should advertise your Lordship of the grave and weighty reasons which induced his Highness to prescribe that which was done.

You are therefore to know, that his Majesty being much troubled and grieved at the heart to hear every day of so many defections from our Religion both to Popery and Anabaptism, or other points of Separation in some parts of this Kingdom; and considering with much admiration what might be the cause thereof, especially in the reign of such a King who doth so constantly profess himself an open adversary to the superstition of the one, and madness of the other, his Princely wisdom could fall upon no one greater probability then the lightness, affectedness, and unprofitableness of that kind of Preaching which hath been of late years too much taken up in Court, University, City and Country.

The usuall scope of very many Preachers is noted to be soaring up in points of Divinity too deep for the capacity of the people, or mustering up of so much reading, or a displaying of their own wit, or an ignorant meddling with Civill matters, as well in the private severall Parishes and Corporations, as in the publique of the Kingdom, or a venting of their own distastes, or a smoothing up those idle fancies (which when the Text shall occasion the same, is not onely approved but much commended

mended by his Royall Majesty) both against the persons of Papists and Puritans.

Now the people bred up with this kind of teaching, and never instructed in the Catechism, and fundamentall grounds of Religion, are for all this airy nourishment, no better then a brass Tabret, new Table-books to be filled up either with Manuals and Catechismes of the Popish Priests, or the papers and pamphlets of Anabaptists, Brownists and Pufitans.

His Majesty therefore calling to mind the saying of *Tersullian*, *Id verum quod primum*; and remembring with what doctrine the Church of *England* in her first and most happy Reformation did drive out the one, and keep out the other from poysoning and infecting the people of this Kingdom, doth find that the whole scope of this doctrine is contained in the Articles of Religion, the two books of Homilies, the lesser and the greater Catechism, which his Majesty doth therefore recommend again in these Directions as the theams and proper subjects of all sound and edifying preaching.

And so far are these Directions from abridging, that his Majesty doth expect at our hands that it should increase the number of Sermons, by renewing every Sunday in the afternoon in all Parish-Churches throughout the Kingdom that primitive and most profitable exposition of the Catechism, wherewith the people, yea very children may be timely seasoned and instructed in all the heads of Christian Religion. The which kind of exposition (to our amendment be it spoken) is more diligently observed in all the Reformed Churches of *Europe*, then of late it hath been here in *England*. I find his Majesty much moved with this neglect, and resolved (if we that are Bishops do not see a reformation thereof, which I trust we shall) to recommend to the care of the Civil Magistrate: so far is his Highness from giving the least discouragement to solid preaching, or discreet and religious Preachers.

To all these I am to add, That it is his Majesties Princely pleasure that both the former Directions and those reasons of the same be fairly written in every Registers Office, to the end that every Preacher of what denomination soever may, if he be so pleased, take out Copies of either of them with his own hand *gratis*, passing nothing in the name of fee or expedition: But if he do use the pains of the Register or the Clerk, then to pay some moderate Fee to be pronounced in open Court by the Chancellor and Commissaries of the place, taking the direction and approbation of my Lords the Bishops.

192 *The Bishop of Lincoln to the Bishop of London, &c.*

Lastly, That from henceforward a course may be taken that every Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer do make and exhibit an account for the performance of these his Majesties directions, and the reasons for the same, at the ensuing Visitation of the Bishops and Archdeacons, paying to the Register 6d. for the exhibiting. And so wishing, but withall in his Majesties name requiring your Lordship to have a special and extraordinary care of the premises, I leave you to the Almighty.

Your very loving friend,

Septemb. 3. 1622.

J. Lincoln, C.S.

Instructions

*Instructions for the Ministers, and Church-Wardens
of London. Jan. 28. 1622.*

1. **T**hat his Majesties declaration, published *Anno Dom.* 1628. before the Articles of Religion, for settling all questions in difference, be strictly observed.

2. That special care be had concerning Lectures in every Parish.

3. That the Minister and Churchwardens in every parish, or one of them, do by writing under his or their owne hands, certifie unto the *Arch-Deacon of London*, or his official, at, or before the 28 of this present *January*: and afterwards at, or before every visitation, the Christian and Surnames of every Lecturer in their parishes, and the place where he preacheth, whether exempt, or not exempt; together with his quality or degree.

4. That they doe in like manner certifie the names of such men, as being not qualified by Law, do keep Chaplains in their houses.

5. That they do further certifie the names of all such as absent themselves from, or are negligent in coming to divine service, as well Prayers, as Catechising and Sermons.

6. That the Minister and Church-Wardens of every Parish, successively, doe keep a severall Copy of those Instructions by them, whereby they may be the better informed of their duty; and that the said Copies be shewed at every visitation, when they shall present all such persons as have disobeyed these instructions; that according to his Majesties pleasure, such as do conforme, may be encouraged, and such as are refractory, may be punished. Subscribed *Ths. Paske, Arch-Deacon of London.*

Monsieur Bevayr, Chancelour of France, discharged to the French King.

LO Sir, I willingly resign into your hands, the charge with which you were pleased to honour me, and with the same Countenance that I received it, without seeking for it, I leave it without grieving for it; the Law had sufficiently taught me to obey your Majesty, so that I needed not to have been sent for by a Captain of the Guard, and twenty Archers; violence should only be used against those that resist, and not against me that know how to obey; and that have ever esteemed this honour a heavy burden, rather then a dignity,
Cc which

which yet I had accepted for the good of your service, because every able man owes his cares and his years to the publick good; and because it had been a shame for me to refuse to die with the Stern in my hand, being able to hinder, or at the least delay the shipwrack that threatens us. God grant Sir, that I be the greatest loser in this disfavour, and that you and your state be the least touched in it. This accident hath not taken me on the suddaine, having ever well foreseen, that as I followed as much as I could, the integrity and vertues of *Monsieur de Villeroi*, and the President *Jannu*; so I ought to expect the like fortune to theirs: your commandment in this, agrees with the choice my self had made if I had been at full liberty; for I love a great deal better to be companion in their disgraces, (if I ought so to stile the being disburthened of affaires) then to be employed in the managing the State with them that there remaine; since I might in time have taken an ill day by the Company of such people, to whom I no whit envy the increase of authority, which is given them at my cost; for I have not used to give accompt of my actions every morning by health, neither will I be prescribed what I ought to doe, if the States good, and reason doe not counsell me unto it. This is much more honourable for me, then to have betrayed your Majesty, in sealing a discharge to an accomptant of 80000 pound, in the great poverty of the Treasury, and that to further the good of a man that blushes not (besides this) to demand the Dutchy of *Alanson* by way of mortgage, which is the portion of the Kings Sons, and to pretend to the office of Constable, which the late Kings will expressly was, should be suppressed after the death of the late Lord *Monmorency*. Think not Sir, that in not giving my consent to this, I desired to oppose my self against your Authority; I know well that that hath no bounds, but those of your wil; but yet are you bound to rule your self according to reason, and to follow the Counsel of those which have entred into the managing of the State by the choice which the late King had made of them, as being more able to give it you, then certain new comers drawn out of the dregs of businesse and of the people. This exchange which is made of us for them, is the trick of the Wolves to the Sheepe, when they tooke their dogs from them; doth not your Majesty perceive it, or dare you not redresse it for fear of disobedience? Sir, you owe obedience by nature to those that preach it to you, but they themselves owe it you both by divine and humane right; and though you should yeild them lesse they have given you but too many examples so to doe. Remember if it please you, that you are past fifteen years old, and Kings
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are of age at fourteen. *Isaac* followed *Abraham* his Father to be sacrificed, because he was not old enough to fear any thing: I believe if he had been a man grown, and had foreseene the danger, he would not himself have carried the sticks upon his shoulders; he was but the appearance of a sacrifice, I pray God in these occasions keep you from the effect: for when I see that men move the Authority of the Court when they will, that men set to sale and dispose of the offices of the Crown, without being once hindred by any; the Princes of the blood having been some imprisoned, and other Princes having retired themselves for the security of their persons; when I see that among the great ones, they that are made see some shadow of better fortunes, are faine to lend their hands to bring themselves into bondage; that they which have attained some settlednesse in this alteration, maintain it only for fear of returning to the former miserie of their former condition —. Besides, it seemes also that the people, and the Provinces partake of this change after the example of the great ones, seeing the help of the law is unprofitable; every thing being out of order by canvassing, by violences, and by corruptions; the Louvre it self hath put on a new face, as well as the affaires of the Kingdome; there remains nothing of the old Court but the walls, and even of them the use hath been changed; for they were wont to serve for the safeguard of Princes, and now they serve for their prison, and for yours it may be, (if it be lawfull to say so:) for it is not without some end, that when you go abroad, you have a company of light horse to attend you, chosen by a suspected hand; this is your Guard after the fashion of the Bastile, this distrust counsels you enough, what you ought to doe, and you need no other advice. I am hift at, I am scott at, and my discourse; so was *Cassandra* used, when she foretold the destruction of *Troy*. Sir, I have nothing left but my tongue to serve you with; If I were so happy to draw you out of the errour in which you are sed, I would bleis a thousand times my disgrace; for having emboldned me to speake freely in a time, wherein even words are punished. The falseness of the *Alcharan*, is only authoris'd, by that it is forbidden under paine of death to speak of it. The incroachment which is made upon your Authority, takes footing only by the danger that is in telling it you freely; consider, (if it please you) that those which usurpe power over you, are of a Country where every body would raigne; thence it is that there is not a City on the other side the Alpes, that hath not her republick or her petty King; and if your Majesty had but a little tasted the History of your owne Kingdome, you would

196 *Mr Richer recants his opinions against Papall Supremacy.*
 have found that the most learned Tragedies that were ever seen in France, have come from that side: the last — upon occasion of a lib-
 book which I published, touching *Constancy and Comfort in public calamities*, I fear much that (contrary to my designe) this is a Work
 for your Reigne, if the goodness of God take not pity on us. Think
 not Sir, that the grief to see my self removed from the State Affairs,
 breeds so bold a discourse; if I had felt any grief for that, 'tis but
 as new married Wives weep to leave the subjection of their Fathers,
 to enter into the equality of Marriage: Yet it is true, that owing
 you my service, I should with more contentment have imployed it
 in your Counsels of State, then in your Parlements, where the mat-
 ters are of lesse importance. For I suppose, that if the Carpenter which
 made the frame of the Admirall wherein *Don John de Austria* com-
 manded at the Battell of *Lepanto*, had known that she should have
 served in so important an occasion, wherein depended the safety of
 the rest of Europe, hee would have taken more pleasure in the ma-
 king her, then if he had made a vessell destined onely for Traffick.
 Notwithstanding, since your Majesty commands mee to retire my
 self, in a good hour be it, the lesser stars bear a part in the perfection
 of the Universe, though they contribute lesse to it then the Sun or
 Moon. In what condition soever I live, I will ever bring all I shall
 be able to the good of your service: and if there be any of those
 which are neer you, that lament mine absence, for my own sake, I
 would willingly say to them, Weep for your selves, children of *Jeru-
 salem*, that for want of courage suffer your Majesty to be betrayed;
 and not for me, that have no other fault, then that I am an honest
 man. I take leave therefore of you, Sir, praying God to take pity
 of your Estate, and care of your Breeding.

*Mon^r Richer forced, recants his opinions against the Papal Su-
 premacy over Kings.*

EGo Librum quem composui Ecclesiastica potestatis, & me ipsum me-
 asque omnes Propositiones subijcio Eccles. Cathol. Apost. & Roman.
 & sancte sedi Apostolica, quam matrem omnium Ecclesiarum esse ag-
 nosco; & in qua semper viguit infallibile Judicium veritatis in rebus
 fidei decernendis. Vehementerque doleo in pradiſto meo Libro quasdam
 esse Propositiones qua scandalum generint, & qua sint veritati Catho-
 lica ut sonant contrariae.

Cardi

Cardinal Richlieu to the Roman Catholics of great Brittain,
Aug. 25. 1624.

Viri praelari, longius differo ad vos scribere, quia res vestra facta non verba desiderant, vota vestra nostra sunt studia, & utraque propitio Deo, aliqua ex parte saltem optatos speramus exitus inventura; spondet hoc nobis Rex Christianissimus, qui aut nullas, aut certe honorificas Religioni, pro Regia sua indole condiciones fœderis unquam admissurus est. Ita à nobis formatus, ita animo preparatus est, ut se rei divina augenda non minus quam finibus propagandis natum vocatumque esse meminerit: serenissima Regina ejus Mater, sedulâ operâ, intentâ curâ cavebit, non modo ne quid detrementi Religio capiat, sed etiam ut quâ possit promoveri, promoveatur, & adjuvetur. Equidem ita me rerum vestrarum miseret, ut si non dico consilio, non fide, non autoritate (qua sentio quam sint exigua:) sed si visâ ipsâ & sanguine vos eripere vel levare etiam malis possem, libentissimè facerem. Ex animo dico, testis est conscientia, qua me vestrum omnium, libertatisque vestrae semper es omni loco fore studiosissimum pollicor. Vobis ex animo addictissimus,
Amandus, Cardinalis Richlieu.

Apud Sanctum German.

25 August. 1624.

Mons^r. Balsac to the Cardinal de la Valette.

MY LORD, I am retired here into Ciceroes house, where I take the freshaire, and the shade of every houre of the day. and laugh at those that broile themselves at Rome. But although I be come hither as wel to untire my Spirit, as to recreate my body, notwithstanding it is impossible that the first can rest, but must doe businesse where it findes none; It crosses the Sea, and passes over the Alpes without my consent, and because there is nothing to doe at France, it goes to seeke some at Constantinople, at Madrid, at London, and at Montauban. Now, to the end you may not thinke me a lyer, and that under an honest pretext, I would palliare a reproveable idleness; I am going to write you the adventures of my yesterdaies walk, and speak to you in the same stile, and the same sort as I rave. While the King is busied to make warre, the King
or

of *Spaine* passeth his time with Ladies, and into places that may not honestly be named; I will give no judgment upon the different inclination of these two Princes, but I very well know, that so long as they live in that fashion, the King of *Spaine* shal take no Townes, nor the King of *France* the Pox. You have surely heard it reported, that the *Pelinders* have defeated the *Turks* Army, which was composed of two hundred thousand Combatants, the halfe whereof, lay dead upon the place. It must necessarily be granted, that but he only after such a losse, could make such a second, and that he hath a source of men that cannot be drawn dry, either by warres, by plagues, or by any other ill disposition of the aire, seeing that in the abundance of all things, that his Empire produces, there is nothing at so low a price, as the lives of souldiers. When I dream that the Duke of *Bouillon* is shut up in *Sedan*, from whence he cannot come forth to goe and make his partie, I imagine to my selfe, a poore mother standing upon the brink of a River, seeing her sonne slaine on the other side, neither being able to help him or bid him farewell: never was man so assaulted with such diversity of thoughts, nor oppressed with unprofitable cares; one while it vexes him that sufficient resistance was not made at *St. Jehan de Angeli*; and again I find that they made not use of the advantage which they might have taken. At one and the same time I would have been at *Montauban* to defend, and in *England* to get succour for it. But why dwels so great a spirit in a body that hath no more heate in it then a fever gives it, and which is never removed but by *Amber-Greece* and Phisick? Its known that the better part of it dwels in the history of troubles, and that in this world it holds but the place of another. In the mean time, the affaires of the Rebels grow to ruine; and if they make any small attempts, it is not that their hopes increase, nor their courage strengthens, but it is Gods will that they shall not have either victory or peace.

The Duke of *Bouillon* sees all this, not being able to remedy, and if sometimes to divert his spirit from so vexing an object, he thinks to seek some comfort out of the kingdome, and amongst strangers affaires, of one side he discovers a puissant Army under the conduct of *Spinola*, which threatens all *Germany*; and of the other side he sees his Nephew, whom from having been Count *Palatine*, and King of *Bohemia*, is become pensioner to the *Hollanders*, and a Gentleman of the Prince of *Orange* his traine; as the beasts in time past, were wont to be crowned, which ought to be sacrificed; so for une presented a Kingdome to this poor man, to the end he should lose his life; but not

not to lie, he hath shewed himselfe craftier then she and fled so we he coul? never be overtaken. Notwithstanding to speak home, the gaine which he got by not dying at the battaile of *Prague*, is not so great as the rep oach which shall be cast upon him for living by his owne fault, and for having witnessed to all the people of the world, that the end of his desires, was only to attaine to be old; and without doubt, as it is a great advantage to be the Grand-child of an usurper so there is not a more miserable condition, then to have been a King, and now to be no more but the subject, or tragedy to playes. Let men then as much as they please, praise the designs of this man, and his good intention. I for my part, find nothing so easie as to fly and lose; and posterity shall put him rather in the number of thieves that have been punished, then of conquerours which have triumphed upon the earth. Since it is true, that the persecution ceales in *England*, and that the King wearieth himself with giving us Martyrs, it may be, that within a short time, he will altogether set soules at liberty, that stil makes one step to his mother Church. As for my part, I despaire not of this great conversion, that all honest men will with salt tears, desire this from heaven, knowing to the contrary, that he hath a reasonable spirit, and may be perswaded upon a thing that he determined on. I assure my selfe that he studies every day the truth of the instructions the great Cardinall *Peron* left him, and that that will be the strongest in his Kingdome assoon as his Conscience ——— authority better reestablished then his. His predecessors knew not how to reigne in regard of him, no not she that plaid with so many heads, and who was more happy then needful for the Christian Common-wealth. It is certain, that heretofore *England* believed in God, but this day it only believes in its Prince, and Religion makes but a part of the obedience yielded unto him; in so much, that if he would but set in the place of all the points of Faith, all the fables of Poesie, he should find in his subjects complying enough to bring them to his will, and perswade himself, that he may make all things just that he does. and all things culpable that he condemns; his Authority came not so far at the first stroake; and there must be time to make men lose *reason, but at this time when all spirits are vanquished, and that the great believe that he hath given of his judgment takes away the liberty of theirs; they can imagine nothing above the wisdom of the King. and without meddling with any thing that passes between God and him, they believe that if he

See King James his
Remonstrance a-
gainst Card^e Peron

* The way for
Romish Con-
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come

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come

command them to tread under foot all the Holy things, and to violate all the Lawes, all that was but for the safety of their Consciences. But it is to be believed, that this Divine providence, which conducts things to their ends, by means which in apparence are contrary, will use the bloodinesse of this people to procure their salvation, and cause them to come again into the Church, by the same doore they went out of it. And since the hearts of Kings are in the hands of God, there wants nothing but a good motion sent unto him, to build againe the Altars which he hath beaten downe, and at one clap to turne to the true Religion the soules of three Kingdomes. A while agoe he sent a Gentleman expressly to this Court, that it might not be contrary with the Marriage which he treated with *Spain*, and to endeavour to make the *Romans* think well of it; and that one of these daies, it may be, he will call his Holinesse, and the sacred Colledge of Cardinals; but hitherto these are terms of a tongue unknowne to him. Furthermore, in this Country we imagine, that there will be no lack of warrs till *Rochel* be reduced to extremity: It is very true, that the forces which the King hath left before it, are not great; but for how many men think you, they count the Captaine into whose hands he hath put them! It is not permitted to judg of that which he will doe by the ordinary course of the things of this world, his actions cannot be drawn into example; and though he be infinitely wise, notwithstanding it is certaine, that in what he undertakes, it alwaies appears somewhat greater then mans wisdom; Yet truly my Lord, after having considered the motion of the Stars which are so just; the order of the seasons, which are so governed; the beauties of nature, which are so divers; I find in the end, that there is nothing in the world, where God sheweth himself so admirable, as in the guiding of the life of my Lord your Father. But to the purpose, behold this that I added yesterday to the great discourse (which I made by your Commandment and which you much praised the first time.)

Monst. Balsac to the King Louis.

SIR. The late King your father hath not done more, and nevertheless not to speak of the Actions of his life; your Majesty knows that his last thoughts made all the Kings of the earth to tremble, and his memorie untill this day is revered to the uttermost ends of the world. Notwithstanding, Sir, be it that you are come
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in a better time then he, be it that God hath destinated your Majesty for higher things, the glory which you have gotten at the going out of your infancy is not lesse then that which that great Prince deserved when he was was growne old in Armes: and in affaires as he, so you make your selfe redoubted without tyranny; as he, so you governe your people. But I am constrained to avow that your Majesty must needs yeild to him in one thing, which is, that you have not yet begot a Sonne that resembles you. But certainly Sir, wee cannot any longer time have this advantage over you. All *Europe* requires Princes and princesses of you, and it is certaine, that the world ought not to end, but when your race shall faile: if you will then that the beauty of the things we see, passe to another age; If you wil that the publick tranquillity have an assured foundation, and that your victories may be eternal, you must talke no more of working powerfully, nor of doing greate Acts of State, but with the Queen.

Mons^r Toyrax to the Duke of Buckingham.

MY Lord, your curtesies are sufficiently known to all the world; and you place them with so much judgment, that those only may hope after them that make themselves worthy by their actions. Now I know no action so worthy of that merit, as for a man to imploy himself, — if in the defence of this place he vanquish not all difficulties — so that no despair of succor nor fear of rigor, in case of extreamity, can ever make me quit a design so generous; as also I shall esteeme my self unworthy of any your favours, if in this action I omit the least point of my duty; the issue whereof cannot be but honourable: and by how much you adde to this glory by your valour and carriage, by so much I am more bound to remaine during my life, your Lordships humble and most obedient servant,
Toyra.

Ab ignoto, concerning the estate of Rochel after
the surrender.

SIR, I presume you have long since heard the particulars of *Rochel*; and that by farre better relations then mine; notwithstanding you may be pleased to know what I observed and learned there my selfe eight daies after the Kings entrance, whither curiosity and some other causes drew me. For the siege and Dike, they *pra cateris excellens*, were in all parts most royall and farre more perfect and uniforme, then relation could make me conceive: The misery of the siege almost incredible, but to such only as have seene it, or some part thereof: Corn was worth after the rate of 800 Franks the bushel; an Oxe or Cow, sold after the rate of 2000 Franks. The host where I lay, sold a Jade horse, worth it may be four or five pounds, for 800 Franks, and for five and twenty weeks, tasted no bread: of twelve persons in his family, only he and his wife are living; who also within two daies had dyed, if the Town had not been rendred. He and his wife made a Collation the day before the Town was rendred, which cost him about six or seven pound sterling, their chear was a pound of bread, made of Straw, Sugar, and other Spices; halfe a pound of horse flesh, three or foure ounces of Comfits, and a pint of Wine, which they imagin'd, was the last good chear they should make together; and in like case, were all the rest of the Towne, only two or three families of the better sort excepted; by which you may conjecture what rates such kind of provision were at. There were eaten between 3000 or 4000 Cow-hides, all the dogs, cats, mice and rats they could get, not a horse left alive, which was food for the better sort, only Madam *Rohan*, after having eaten her Coach horse, and her servants the Leather of her Coach; removed, though full sore against her will, her lodging from *Rochel* to the Cattle of *Mooke* or *Nivoul*, where she is under guard, and since (it is said) to the Bastile in *Paris*: God send her and hers to heaven. There died for want of food in *Rochel* 15000 and rested living when the King entred betweene three and four thousand, of which there are since very many dead; they dayly discover new miseries, which when I was there, were not spoken of; the mother and the child at the brest both dead, the child having eaten
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most part of the mothers brest; a souldier was found dead with a piece of his fellows flesh in his mouth; a Burger having a servant killed, powdered her, which fed him and his wife a long time, and dainty meat too: many languishing and finding themselves draw neer their ends, caused their coffins to be carried into the Churches, laid them down in them and so dyed; these were of the better sort. The common sort laid themselves down in Coffins in the Church yards and there dyed; others in the streets, others not able to go out of their houses dyed and remained there, their friends being not able to remove them thence. So that when the first Forces of the King entered, there were in the Town, of Corps unburied, some in the Church-yards, others in the streets, some in their houses, some on the floore, others in their beds, besides them that died without the Gates under hedges, and in ditches round about the Towne, which I saw my selfe when I was there; halfe devoured with Ravens and other beasts, and fowls of the aire; In fine, the like misery hath not been seene nor heard of.

The King on All-Saints day, which was the day of his entry, with a wax Candle in his hand, together with the Cardinall and all the Nobility, in like manner, went all over the Town in procession with the B. Sacrament. The chiefe Temple of the *Hugonots* shall be converted into a Church Cathedral, and *Rochel* to be a Bishoprick. All the fortifications and walls to Landwards to be razed, and the Fosses filled so that a plough may passe, as in arable Land. The Maior, with some of the chiefeest, are banish'd for ever, others for a certaine time limited, though quietly to possesse their goods, moveable and immoveable, and a general remission of all crimes past: and all others that were in the Towne before the descent of the English into *Rhee*, and when the Town was rendred, shall likewise enjoy the same priviledge, though no child or heir absent, is, or shall be capable to inherit the goods or lands of his parents or friends deceased, but all is at the Kings disposing. The King hath granted them free liberty of their Religion in the Town of *Rochel*, which in short time will all be rooted out; for no Forrainger (though naturalized) shall be admitted to repair and inhabit in *Rochel*, nor *French* but *Roman* Catholicks. The King hath added to the revenues of his Crown 20000 Franks *per annum*, which was a rent belonging to the Town-house, for the maintenance of the fortifications and State of *Rochel*. The Town-house is to be razed, and a pillar or pyramids with an ample inscription of the particulars of the siege and rebellion, there to be erected. The forts of the Isle of *Rhee* and *Oleron*, to be razed, & (as it is said)

most of all the chief forts of *France*, except on the frontiers. Four Regiments are yet in *Rochel*, the rest of the Army (at least the most part) are gon to winter in those parts of *France*, towards the coasts of *Italy*, to be ready on all occasions to succor the Duke of *Mantua*, as it is thought.

The Fathers of the society have very faire buildings given them for their establishing there, and 1000 Franks to begin to build; to which is added a revenue which I know not, the place is said to be where the Hereticks kept their schools of Divinity, and Councel of warre, or rebellion. And where the *English* had their Church, the *Oratorians* are likewise established with large augmentations; The *Capuchins* are where was the chieftest Fort, called *Le Bastion de Levangile*; The *Minors* are where the Dike was, and divers other elsewhere.

There are at least 8000 houses in *Rochel*, which are faine to fall to the King to dispose of for want of heirs. The *Parisians* are preparing a most sumptuous and magnificent receipt for the King, which is the cause he hath not been at *Paris* since his return from *Rochel*, but is at *St. Germins*, and thereabouts, till all things are ready for his entry, which is thought will excede in bravery and magnificence all the presidents of many years. The *Jesuits* are by the body of *Paris* employed to make the speeches and inscriptions for that purpose, which the body of the *Sorbon* take ill; The Prince of *Conde* doth daily get ground of *Rohan*, and hath lately taken prisoners (as it is said) thirty Captaines and eight hundred souldiers. Those of *Montauban* boast (as it is said) that they have provision for three or four years, and will stand out til the last: though some of the best esteeme, think it is only to draw the King to the best composition they can.

*The Protestants of France, to Charles King of
Great Britain.*

S I R, the knowledg and resentment which it hath pleased your Majesty to take of the misery of the afflicted Churches of *France*, hath given us the boldnesse to awaken your Compassion in such measure, as our calamities are aggravated by the unmercifull rigour of our persecutors, and as the present storme doth threaten neer at hand the total ruine, and lamentable destruction of that which the mercy of God had yet kept intire unto us since the desolation of *Rochel*: and as we have adored with humility the judgment of God

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in this bad successe (which we impute only to his wrath justly kindled against us for our sins) so our silence could be thought no lesse then ingratitude, if we had not at the beginning of our Assembly resolved the most humble and most affectionate acknowledgment which wee now render to your Majesty, for the great succour which you have sent us, intereising your self so far in the grief of our oppression, and in the means of our deliverance. The most humble supplication which we do offer to your Majesty next after this our thansgiving, is, that your Majesty (according to the sweet inclination of your goodnesse) would permit us still to present our complaints, and discover our wounds before the eyes of your royall charity, protesting unto your Majesty, that we see none other hand under heaven by which we may be healed, but your Majesties, in case your Majesty will still vouchsafe to lift it up on the behalfe of oppressed innocents, and of the Church of our Lord outrageously persecuted by the most invenom'd passion that our age, or any age preecedent hath seen; we most humbly beseech your Majesty, to read this letter which is written with our tears and with our blood; and (according to your exquisite judgement, your incomparable wisdom, and the devotion of your zeale, to the glory of God) to consider our estate, which is such, that our persecutors upon the losse of *Rochel*, supposing we had been put to utter discomfiture, and into a weaknesse without recovery or resistance, and boasting themselves, that now there remained no more any eyes unto us, but to bewaile our selves, nor any sense, but to feel the smart thereof, without further imploying our hands or our arms for our defence, have made use of this advantage, with so much fiercenesse, insultation and cruelty, that they have not only sacked the houses, and with an unheard of rudenesse and barbarisme, rifled the goods of our poore brethren of this Province of *Languedock*, relying themselves upon publick faith, and the benefits of the edicts of pacification (especially of the last which your Majesty had favourably procured and confirmed unto us) dissipating whole families, and exiling them with perfidious inhumanity, but also they have laid waite and destroyed almost all the Churches of the same, which are at their command and discretion under the liberty of edicts; imploying Monks (the *Popes Emissaries*) assisted with force of souldiers, and of the tyrannicall Authority of Governours, to ravish mens souls, and to draw the most constant with violence to *Massé*, and to the feete of the Idol, interdicting assembles, and all exercise of true Religion in the same places; beating, imprisoning, ransoming, assassinating the faithful and their pastors with an enraged fury, which hath exceeded.

ed all the inhumanities of the Inquisition, profaning and demolishing of Temples; their violence having proceeded so farre, as publickly to burn in pomp and triumph, the sacred books of Gods Covenant in presence of the Governor of the Province, with damnable sacriledge, which cryeth vengeance before God, and doth elevate its voice to the eares, (Sir) of a most puissant Monarch, professing the purity of the Gospel, zealous of his glory, and capable to revenge so outrageous an injury. But your Majesty shal understand, that all this hath produced an effect much contrary to the intention of our persecutors; for so farre it is from us, that their objects of pity and griefe, whereof the very thought doth make us repine, should render us faint-hearted, and cause us to yeild our selves in prey to their rage, that on the contrary, seeing the Mask taken off, and the pretext which they had alledged of the Army of rebellion whereof they accused us, quite removed, and that without any more dissimulation, their design goes on to the ruinating of our Religion, and the extirpation of our Church. and that there remained no more hope of safety and liberty, but generall resolution to die in the Arms of our just and vigorous defence, and that our persecutors possessing the spirit of our King, and hindring the effects of his bounty, have obtained a declaration of the fifteenth of *December* last. which alluring us to implore his grace and mercy, yet leaveth us not any hope of enjoying the benefits of any edict, nor by consequence of any tolerable peace, and soliciting us to disarm our selves, and to put our selves into the condition of sacrifices destined by one and by one to the slaughter, to be all at one stroak offered up to the fury of Antichrist, by one general Massacre throughout the whole Kingdome, whereof we doe not onely heare the vaunts, but doe almost see great armies upon our backs for execution. This makes us (Sir) have recourse to your Royal and redoubtable puissance, as to a place of refuge, which God hath yet left open to us, in your Ardent charity, to finde within your assistance assured and effectual means to avoid ruine, which is ready inevitably to fall upon our heads. And to attaine thereunto, (Sir) we have religiously renewed in this assembly, the oath of union, which binds us with a sacred bond unto the Armes of your Majesty; of the violating whereof your Majesty may be assured, that we will never make our selves guilty, being encouraged to this resolution by the reiterate confirmations, which my Lord the Duke of *Roban* hath lately given us, that your Majesty continues to take to heart the assistance and deliverance of our Churches according to your Royal promises, being debtors to his sage and valorous conduct, and to his pious magnanimity,
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for all that strength and liberty which we yet enjoy : and we will leave unto posterity memorable examples of our Constance which prefers death before reproachfull cowardize and shameful servitude, hoping that out of our ashes, God will draw matter for his glory, and the propagation of his Church; being perswaded (Sir) that you are the instrument of his election to give us comfort and deliverance from our evils in time convenient. Be you assured also, that he will uphold us in that extraordinary valour wherewith he hath inspired us to endure all extremities with a patience invincible, expecting the succour of his hands through yours. Of all (Sir) which a great Monarch could ever doe in the world, nothing can be more just then this interprize, nor more glorious then this deliverance: the Lord having exalted you to the most eminent degree of dignity and power to be the nursing father of his Church, she hath right, being thus mangled and bloody, to stretch forth her arms unto you, even shee that Spouse of Jesus Christ, the common mother of Christians, and and your mother also, by the respect of her bruised members, and of the searing of her innocent brest, covered with wounds, she will move your pity; She assures her selfe (Sir) that the glorious title which you beare of the Defender of the faith, shall intercede for your accepting of her humble request: if you doe extend unto us your cares, your affections, and your formidable Armes, you shall nourish in our hearts affections of honour and obedience which shall never die; you shall daunt all powers that would raise themselves against your Crown; you shall raise your glory to such a height, that all the earth shall admire it, all Christendome shall celebrate it, and your name shall be of sweet odour unto Angels and men; and in perpetual benediction unto all posterity of Saints, and your reward shall be great and eternal in heaven. May it please your Majesty to pardon us, if our necessities pressing us, we all do presse your Majesty by our instant supplications accompanied with a most humble respect to strengthen our selves so soon as may be with the honour of your commandments, and the declaration of your favour, the wholesome effects of your assistance, according to the sweetnesse of your compassion, and Charity, and we will redouble our prayers to the divine clemency, for the length and safety of your life, and the prosperity of your estate, being ready with a most holy and ardent affection to expose our goods and lives to render us worthy of the quality which we dare take of your most humble, most obedient, and most faithful servants, the Deputies of the reformed Churches of France, in their general Assembly held at *Nismes*, and for all *Jaques de Marescy adjunt la Reque.*

*The Duke of Rohan to his Majesty of great Brittain, the
12 of March 1628.*

SIR, the deplorable accident of the losse of *Rochel*, which God hath suffered to humble us under his hand, hath redoubled in the hearts of our enemies their passionate fiercenesse to our utter ruine with an assured hope to attain thereunto. But it hath not taken away from the Churches of those Provinces, either the heart or the affection to oppose their unjust plots by a just and lively defence. This is it hath made them take resolution to assemble themselves to cojoyne in the midst of these commotions to assist me with their good counsels, and with me to provide the means of their deliverance. And for as much as the greatest support which God hath raised unto them upon earth is the succour our Churches have, and do look to receive from your Majesty, the general Assembly hath desired that my Letters, which alone hitherto have represented unto your Majesty the interest of the publick cause, might be joyned to their most humble supplications put up to your Majesty. I do it Sir, with so much the more affection, because I am a witness that these poor people, who with sighes and groanes implore your assistance, having once laid down their weapons which the oppression of their enemies made so necessary, because they knew such was your desire to take them up again, so soon as they heard that your Majesty did oblige them thereunto by your Counsel and Promises; they have upon this only assurance, continued all dangers, surmounted all oppositions, accounted their estates as nothing, and are still ready to spend their blood till the very last drop; they esteem your love and favour more precious then their own lives, and whatsoever promises or threatnings have been used to shake their constant resolution, they could never be brought to make any breach in that they had tyed themselves to, never to hear of any Treaty without your consent. This great zeal for the preservation of all the Churches of this Kingdome, which is naturally knit to the preservation of these few we have left, and that fidelity with our example, are worthy and glorious subjects to exercise your Charity and Power. You are (Sir) Defender of that Faith whereof they make profession, suffer it not to be so unjustly oppressed; you have stirred up their affection in this defence by your royal promises, and those Sacred words

words, that your Majesty would imploy all the power in your Dominions to warrant and protect all our Churches from the ruine that threatned them, have been (after Gods favour) the onely foundation of all their hope: so the Churches should thinke no greater a Crime could be committed by them, then doubt of your Royal performance thereof, if their miseries and Calamities have at the beginning moved your Compassion. This wofull subject hath increased with such violence, that nothing but your succor can prevent their utter undoing: for at this day the greatest offence our Enemies lay to our Charge, (and proclaim nothing can expiate but our blood) is, to have implored your aid, and hope for it: for this cause, our Lands and Possessions are taken away and destroyed; our houses made desolate, and reduced to ashes; our heads exposed to sale to murderers; our families banished; and wheresoever the cruelty of them that hate us can extend, men and women are dragged and beaten to Mass with Bastinadoes. To be short, the horreur of the persecution we suffer is so great, that our words are too weak to expresse it. Moreover, we see great and mighty Armies at our Gates, that waite their onely fit time to fall with impetuosity upon the places of retreat that remain; and after that, to expel and banish the exercise of Religion, and massacre all the faithfull ones throughout the whole kingdomes. These things considered (Sir) I do beseech your Majesty not to forsake us. I should feare by such words to offend so great, so potent, and so faithfull a king; But because of urgent necessity that presseth us, I have presumed importunately to intreat the hastening of your assistance, to keep us from falling under the heavy burthen of our Enemies endeavors. Your Majesty need not to draw, but out of the source of your own profound wisdom, for the fit meanes how to make your succor dreadfull and powerfull to those that contemne it, and salutarious to so many people that wait and long for it. Your Majesty shall by this meanes acquire the greatest glory that can be desired, pluck out from the fire and sword three hundred thousand families that continually pray to God for your prosperity; preserve a people whom God hath purchased with his most precious blood, and which hath (even in the midst of most eminent dangers, and cruellest torments) kept intire a sound and an upright faith, both towards God and man; you shall settle the fidelity of your word; the reputation of your kingdomes and Armes, to a pitch worthy of your grandeur; and in repressing of the audaciounels of those that go about every day to blemish the same, through their vile and unworthy reproches, you shall add to your titles that of the Restorer of a people,

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210 *Pope Gregory 15. to the Inquisitor-General of Spain.*

the most innocent and most barbarously persecuted that ever was. In that which concerns me, Sir, I will not make mention to your Majesty of my owne Interest, though I might doe it, having, as it seems, the honor to be unto you what I am: but I have so long since consecrated all things with my selfe to the publicke good, that I shall esteeme my selfe happie enough, so that the Church were not miserably distressed; and that I may have this advantage, that through my actions (which your Majestie will not disavow) I may make it known, that I am

Your Majesties most humble and most obedient servant,

Henry de Rohan.

*Pope Gregory the 15. to the Inquisitor-General of Spain,
April 19. 1623.*

Venerable Brother,

THe protection of the Orthodox Religion in the most spacious Kingdoms of *Spain*, we think to be happily committed to your Fraternity: for we know with what watchful vigilancie, in this renowned station, you are careful that Monsters of wicked doctrine steal not into the bounds of the Church and Vine. But at this time occasion from heaven is offered you, by which you may extend the benefits of your piety beyond the bounds of those Kingdoms, and extend them also to forraign Countries. We understand that the Prince of *Wales*, the King of *Great Britains* son, is lately arrived there, carried with a hope of Catholike Marriage: Our desire is, that he should not stay in vain in the Courts of those Kings, to whom the defence of the Popes authority, and care of advancing Religion, hath procured the renowned name of *Catholique*. Wherefore by Apostolike Letters we exhort his Catholike Majestie, that he would gently endeavour sweetly to reduce that Prince to the obedience of the Romane Church, to which the ancient Kings of *Great Britain* have (with heavens approbation) submitted their Crowns and Scepters. Now to the attaining of this victory, which to the conquered promiseth triumphs, and principalities of heavenly felicity, we need not exhaust the Kings treasure, nor levie Armies of furious soldiers; but we must fetch from heaven the armour of Light, whose divine splendor may allure that Princes eye, and gently expel all errors from his minde. Now in the managing of these businesses,

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what power and art you have, we have well known long ago: wherefore we wish you to go like a religious Counsellor to the Catholike King, and to try all ways which by this present occasion may benefit the Kingdoms of *Britain* and the Church of *Rome*. The matter is of great weight and moment, and therefore not to be amplified with words. Whosoever shall enflame the minde of this Royal youth with the love of the Catholike Religion, and breed a hate in him of Heretical impiety, shall begin to open the Kingdom of heaven to the Prince of *Britain*, and to gain the Kingdoms of *Britain* to the Apostolike See; into the possession of so great glory, I make no doubt but that your Fraternity, armed with the sword of Verity, will be desirous to come. About which matter, our venerable brother *Innocent* Bishop of the Apostolike Nuncio, shall discourse with you more at large; whom you may trust. And we with most accurate prayers will endeavour to procure the assistance of God for you, upon whom most lovingly we bestow our Apostolical benediction.

*Given at Rome in St. Peters, under the Fishers Seal, April 19. 1623.
of our Popedom 30.*

Pope Urban to Lewis the 13. Aug. 4. 1629.

To our dearest Son in Christ Jesus, Lewis the most Christian King of France; Pope Urban sendeth greeting.

Most dear Son in Christ, Health, and Apostolical benediction. The high exploits of your Royal valour, which have drawn upon them all the eyes of Christendom, bring a great deal of comfort to our fatherly care, as well in regard of the glory of your Arms, as the hope of your triumphs. For considering, as we do, with much grief, the impiety of Hereticks, living in some places without fear or danger, we now thank the Lord of hosts, that hath in so fit an opportunity made your Majestie to maintain with Arms the dignity of the Catholike Religion. Oh fair Apprentiship of Royal Warfare, and worthy of a most Christian King! What an admirable thing it is, that the age which other Princes, out of a kinde of softness and idleness, use to pass away in sports and delights, your Majesty should employ so generously, so fortunately, in appeasing differences, conducting Armies, and besieging the strongest places of Hereticks, and all not without the special counsel of God, by which Kings reign!

Is it almost credible, that the very first steps of your thoughts should carry you in so high and troublesome an enterprise ; and that the dangers and difficulties which have stopt others in their course, should onely serve for a spur to the greatness of your courage ? Enjoy (dear Son) the Renown your name hath got , and follow the God that fights for you ; to the end that as you are now held the Thunderbolt and Buckler of War , so you may hereafter be esteemed the praise of Israel, and the glory of the world. From the height of our Apostolick Dignity , whereto it hath pleased God of his goodness to raise us, unworthy of so great grace , we assist your Arms with heart and affection , and by our frequent prayers prepare the divine remedies. And though we doubt not but your own vertue will make you constant in the work you have begun , nevertheless we have thought good to adde Exhortations, that the world may see the care we have of the advancement of true Religion, and how willing we are to give way to your glory. You have been hitherto infinitely bound to God for his bounty towards you ; and, as we hope and wish, you shall hereafter a great deal more. For you having your minde endued with celestial doctrine , and not with the bare precepts of humane wisdom, do well know, that Kingdoms have their foundation upon the truth of Orthodox faith : and unless God keep the City, what principality can subsist with any assurance ? It may easily be judged with what fidelity they are likely to defend your Royal Throne, that have cast the very Saints themselves out of their Temples, and done as much as in them lay to put them out of the number of the blessed, yea out of Paradise it self, that with impious remerity condemn the Institutions of our Fathers , the Custom of Kings , the Decrees of Popes, and the Ceremonies of the Church. These are the disturbers of the Christian Commonwealth , and the reproaches of *France*, whom the great God hath reserved, to be exterminated, as it were, in the beginning of your Reign. Know then , that all *Europe* (which the event of your Arms holds all this time in suspense) hopes shortly it will hoise sail upon the Ocean under the conduct of your Greatness and Power, and go to the place which serves now for Sanctuary and protection to the Hereticks and Rebels, and it will shortly serve for a Trophie of your Victories. We are confidently perswaded, that neither fear nor inconstancie shall ever be able to divert you from the pursuit of your so glorious enterprise , nor hinder you to subvert that un sanctified people : Onely, by the way, we would have you remember , that the Saints in heaven assist that Prince who takes upon him the defence of Religion ; and fight on his side like fellow-

ellow-souldiers. The same God that hardned the waters like dry land, and turned the waters of the Sea into walls, to give safe passage to his childrens Army, will certainly in this most pious action be as favourable to you : and then we shall have good cause to hope, that having establishd your own Kingdom, and crushd the impiety that was and yet is there, you may one day, by the progress of your victorious Arms, joyn the Orient to the Occident ; imitating the glories of your Ancestors, who have ever born as much respect to the Exhortations of Popes, as to the commandment of God. St. Lewis, whose name you bear, and whose steps you follow, invites you to it : so did the first of your Race, who in defending the Apostolike authority, and propagating Christian Religion, laid the best and surest foundation to your Royal House. Follow (dear Son) which are the ornaments of the world, the commandments of heaven : pour out your wrath and indignation upon those people that have not, nor will not know God, and our Apostolike benignity; to the end the divine treasure of heaven may belong unto you by a just acquisition. In the meantime, we send you most affectionately our Apostolike benediction.

Given at Rome at great St. Maries, under the Seal of the Fisher, the 4 day of August 1629. being the seventh year of our Pontificate.

The Duke of Buckingham, Chancellor elect, to the University of Cambridge, June 5. 1626.

MR. Vice-Chancellor, and Gentlemen of the University of Cambridge, there is no one thing that concerneth me more near, then the good opinion of good and learned honest men ; amongst which number as you have ever held the first rank in the estimation of the Commonwealth, and fame of the Christian world ; so in conferring of this Honour of Chancellorship upon me, I must confess you have satisfied a great ambition of mine own, which I hope will never forsake me, and that is, To be thought well of, by men that deserve well, and men of your profession. Yet I cannot attribute this Honour to any desert in me, but to the respect you bear to the sacred memory of my Master deceased, the King of Scholars, who loved you, and honoured you often with his presence; and to my gracious Master now living, who inherits with his blessed Fathers vertues, the affection he bore your University. I beseech you, as you have now made
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your choice with so many kinde and noble circumstances, as the manner is to me acceptable and grateful as the matter; so to assure your selves, that you have cast your votes upon your servant, who is as apprehensive of the time you have shewed your affection in, as of the Honour you have given him. And I earnestly request you all, that you would be pleased not to judge me comparatively by the successes and happiness you have had in your former choice of Chancellors, who as they knew better, perhaps by advantage of education in your University, how to value the deserts of men of your qualities and degrees; so could they not be more willing to cherish you then my self, who will make amends for want of Scholarship, in my love to the professors of it, and unto the Source from whence it cometh: having now most just cause more chiefly to employ my uttermost endeavours, with what favour I enjoy from a Royal Master, to the maintaining of the Charters, Priviledges, and Immunities of your University in general, and to the advancing of the particular merits of the Students therein. And since I am so far engaged unto you, I will presume upon a further courtesie, which is, That you will be pleased to supply me with your advice, and suggest a way unto me (as my self likewise shall not fail to think on some means) how we may make Posterity remember you have a thankful Chancellor, and one that both really loved you and your University. Which is a resolution writ in an honest heart, by him that wanteth much to express his affection to you; who will ever be

York-house, 5 Junii,
1636.

Your faithful friend, and humble servant,
Geor. Buckingham.

King Charles to the University of Cambridge, in approbation of the Election. June 6. 1626.

TRUSTY and Welbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas upon Our Pleasure intimated unto you by the Bishop of *Durham* for the choice of your Chancellor, you have with such duty as We expected highly satisfied Us in your election, We cannot in Our Princely nature (who are much possessed with this testimony of your ready and loyal affections) but for ever to let you know, how much you are therein made partakers of Our Royal approbation: and as We shall ever conceive, that an Honour done to a person We favour, is out of a loyal respect had unto Our Self: and as we shall ever justifie *Buckingham*

kingham worthy of this your Election, so shall you finde the fruits of it : for We have found him a faithful servant to our dear Father of blessed memory ; and Our Self cannot but undertake that he will prove such a one unto you ; and will assist him with a gracious willingness, in any thing that may concern the good of the University in general, or the particular merits of any Students there.

Given under Our Signet at Our Palace of Westminster, the sixth of June, in the second year of Our Reign.

The University of Cambridge Answer to the Duke,
June 6. 1626.

Illustrissime Princeps, atq; auspiciatissime Cancellarie,

Neptunum perhibent gratum cum Minerva inisse certamen, utere ve-
maris mortalium conferret donum: ille potens maris Deus illico effudit
equum, Illi pacis & musarum numen, supeditavit oleam ; utranq; certe
Deo dignum munus. Adeo nostrum non est tantum litem dirimere, quin
faccessat potius litis importuna vox, ubi non alia quam Amoris propinquantur
pignora. Perinde tecum se res habet, excellentissime Dux, quemjam olim
potentissimus Oceani Britannici Neptunus, non solum suprema Maris Pra-
sectura cohonefavit, sed & Pratorio donavit Equo : adeo ut illum munere
& propria virtute, unus audias, Terra Mariq; summus Dictator, ut sic di-
camus Clasis, & Magister Equitum. Post tanta honorum vestigia, ecce, no-
stra Minerva tua jam Cantabrigia supplex suas obtendit oleas, tanquam
inter vittrices lauros lambentes hederas ; oleas quidem quibus & tuis
rebus, & rebus tum publicis tum Literariis precatur simul & auspiciatur
pacem. Nec ad usque sumus gens togata impotenter su, erbi, ut hoc Can-
cellariatu arbutemur, Nos tantillos tibi in id Meritorum & Gratia cul-
men evecto, quicquam vel testimonii ad estimationem, vel tituli ad gloriam
contulisse. Quod autem ipse aliter opinaris vestra illi pietas est, haud am-
bitio, major tua tum virtus tum decus est, quam ut eis aut nostra quid-
piam suffragia addere, aut aliorum possit Invidia detrabere : stella in primo
orbe, quas fixas vocant, altiores sunt, quam ut ad eas valeas terrarum um-
bra pertingere, quanquam felicissima memoria Jacobo pientissimq; Ca-
rolo non est, quod hoc quisquid est nominis te debere dicas, citra est, mi-
sellum munus Academicum, citra est quam ut tantos auctores mereatur,
quin vestram potius celsitudinem, vestrum tutelare numen, Nos illis
Principibus imputabimus, qui inde ex illius potissimum voto te elegimus, unde
non nisi immortalia accipere beneficia solebamus. Quod si nostrum hoc
in

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*in vestram Excellentiā studium tibi ipsa uti scribis commendat tempesti-
vitas, nos illud saltem debituri sumus temporibus ceterum non nimis sali-
cibus, quod tibi vel inde gratiores sumus; quanquam suspicamur, ut hoc to-
tum quod de oportunitate insinuas merum sit, nec magnis ingenii insolens
bene de suis cultoribus merendi artificium, quæ eo consilio singula suorum
officia maxime tempestive autumant, quo uberius sibi remunerandi argu-
mentum accipuntur: nam faciles credimus honorificis quibus nos dignare
promissis. Jamdiu est, ex quo toto animo atque opera Cancellarium sensi-
mus, nihil, tibi hoc tempore nostra potuere suffragia quam nomen adicere.
Nolis tamen ut cum illustrissimis heroibus præcessoribus tuis, te committa-
mus, in quo sane tua prædicanda modestia illorum honori & memoria con-
sultuit, ne tanti fulgoris claritudine offuscetur, ut enim nulla re magis se
jactat Cantabrigia quam præteritorum gloria ac splendore Patronorum; ho-
die tamen, nescio quid solito angustius spirat, & tuis superba auspiciis quasi
Buckinghamiensis aucta tutelis, magnâq; spe grævda intumescit. Ad
extremum nos ad concilium vocas, quâ potissimam ratione quo digno mo-
numento tuo, in nos amoris memoriam posteritati consecres, verum enim
vero (Illustrissime Dux, indulgentissimeq; Cancellarie) major est ea pro-
vincia, quam ut nos eam subeundo simus, quod tuo amoris par sit monumen-
tum, tuum potest solummodo excogitare ingenium. Nos interea alia mane-
bit cura quibus nimirum apud Deum precibus quibus studiorum vigiliis of-
ficiorum obsequiis tanta Clientela felicitatem nobis propriam & perpetuam
despondeamus,*

*Datæ frequentissimo Senatu
nostro, sexto Idus Junii,
1626.*

*Vestra Excellētia humillimi
devotissimâq; Clientes Serviâq;*

*Procancellarius, & reliquis
Senatus Cantabrigiensis.*

The University of Cambridge Answer to the King.

*Serenissimo invictissimoq; Principi ac Domino nostro, CAROLO
Dei gratiæ, Magnæ Britannix, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regi, Fidei
Defens. &c.*

*S**Erenissime Domine noster invictissime Carole, multum nos fortuna
nostra, sed tua clementia infinitum quantum debemus, satis nempe
erat judicio nostro satisfacisse cum illum nobis præficeremus, quem unum
certissime præfici posse constabat. At tua admirabilis bonitas non patitur*

nos

non gratis nobismetipsis benefacere, sed tibi imputari vis quod nobis fecimus beneficium. Enimvero arduum aliquam sibi materiam obsequium nostrum poscebat, & cujus tenuitas sublimitatem vestram assequi non posset, difficultatem — se, & molestia commendaret. Tu autem à te gratiam — quod tanti Patroni beneficio usi sumus, qui ita nos amat, ut plurimum velit, ita à te amatur, ut plurimum nostra causa posset per quem vestra in nos transeat benignitas, & difficultates nostras discutiat: si qua tamen in hac divina bonitate tua existere possit difficultas superasti, nempe majorum tuorum Clementiam, qui & easdem nobis immunitates indulget, & id etiam propiciis, ut iis rectissime utamur. Et quod unum tanta felicitati reliquum erat ut esset perpetua, id ipsum precibus nostris superesse non finis; præcurris enim vota nostra, & spem ipsam, qua nihil est importunius, exuperas: nam & ipsa fines suos habet, quos tua bonitati nullis esse experti sumus. Exhausti votorum nostrorum materiam, Serenissime Regum, nec quicquam nobis deinceps optandū est quam ut tu regnes ut vincas, ut nos in perpetuum simus quod sumus,

Datæ frequentissimo Senatu
nostro, sexto Idus Junii,
1626.

Excellentissime Majestatis vestre
humillimi servi & subditi,
Procancellarius, & reliquus Senatus
Academix Cantabrigiensis.

A Privie Seal for transporting of Horse. June 3. 1624.

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the Treasurer and under-Treasurer of our Exchequer for the time being, greeting. We do hereby will and command you, that out of our Treasure remaining in the receipt of our said Treasury forthwith to pay, or cause to be paid unto Philip Burlamack of Londⁿ Merchant, the sum of 30000 *l*. to be by him paid over to the Low-Countries by Bill of Exchange, and Germany, unto Our Trusty & Welbeloved Sir William Belfour Knight, and John Dabler Esq; or either of them, for levying and providing a certain number of Horse, with Arms for Foot and Horse to be brought over into this Kingdom for our Service; viz. for the levying and transporting of 1000 Horse, 15000 *l*. for 5000 Muskets, 5000 Corbets, 5000 Pikes, 10500 *l*. for 1000 Curasiers compleat, 200 Corslets and 200 Carbines, 4500 *l*. amounting in the whole to the said sum of 30000 *l*. And this Our Letter shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given under Our Privie Seal at Our Palace of Westm^r the 30 of Januar^y in the third year of Our Reign, Anno Dom. 1627.

Ff

The

The University of Cambridge to the Duke.

Illustrissime Princeps,

Quam paterno cum affectu, quam divina cum charitate vestra hujus Academia saluæ utilitatemq; vestra Celsitudo semper procuraverit, nec nos effari possumus, nec atq; ulla conticere.

Ingentia beneficia seculum præsens admiratione obrunt; nec alio queunt quam perennis fama & immortalitatis præmio compensari. Vestra Celsitudinis singulari patrocinio, de Typographis Londinensibus triumphavimus. Hostium undequaque ferociam persensimus imminutam, auctamq; Academia dignitatem: Nihil nos votis expetiscere, nihil vestra Celsitudo conferre potuit, quod a vestra benignitate non acceperimus. Et quid nos præter hanc sterilem cultus nostri messem referendumus? At beneficia vestra, quam sancte posteritas alet, quibus præconiis, quam æternis laudibus vestra Celsitudinis memoriam nepotes nostri celebrabunt, facile conjiciet is qui norit quantum Academia tranquille administrata, vindicata privilegia, immunitates conservata, otium, libertas, ipsa vita Musis donata, promereantur! Quot hostes Reipublica Literaria insensos vestra Celsitudo profigavit, quot in nos munera contulerit, nec illi sine gemitu agnoscere, nec nos sine stupore recitare valeamus. Dum te licet conspiciari, dum tua genia prehendere, flocci faciamus mortalium iras, & in recessibus nostris abditis tuto literis indulgeamus.

Jam vestra Celsitudo novam parat Militiam (quam vestro nomini gloriosam, Religioni Christiana faustam, nobis omnibus felicem, omnipotens Deus faxit) quibus nos periculis exponimur? Alii flumen nostrum siccare, eumq; ablitum a quo forsitan ipsi aquas olim ingrati hauserunt: alii nobis Imprimendi facultatem rursus adimere conabuntur. Illustrissime Princeps, pauca sunt nostra bona, suppellex curta, angusta Athenarum pomæria: nulla tamen opes Croesi vel Midæ perditorum hominum insidiis perimuntur atrocibus, quam inermis & nuda paupertas nostra. Videt vestra Celsitudo quam in ipsa fiduciam collocamus, qui tempestas priusquam ingruit, ad vestras aras confugimus. Et qui invisi haud ignari sumus quanta moles vestra Celsitudinis humeros jam premit, audacter tamen tot curarum montibus nostrum Parnassum superaddimus. Perficiat vestra Celsitudo hanc suam Academiam, ut incipit: florentem ornet, trepidantem excitet, depressam sustentet, periclitantem expediat; qua Deum perpetuo implorat, ut omnia tua gloriosa molimina vestra Celsitudo consequatur, & illa vestra Celsitudinis patrocinio fruatur in æternum.

Dat' e frequenti Senatu nostro, Nonas Julii, 1628.

Celsitudinis vestrae devotissimi,
Procancellarius, reliquique
Senatus Academicæ vestræ
Camabrigiensis, The

*The Dukes Answer.**Gentlemen,*

Such and so cordial have your respects been unto me, that no other Pen then your own can expresse them, nor no other heart then mine can apprehend them: and therefore I labour not any verbal satisfaction, but shall desire you to believe, that what service soever you please to think I have hitherto done for you, I cannot so much as call an expression of that I would willingly do for you. And whereas in your Letters you seem to fear that my absence may be an advantage of time to make your adversaries active and stirring against you, and your affairs consequently meet with partiality and opposition; I have therefore most humbly recommended them to the Justice of my Royal Master, and to the bosomes of some friends, where they shall likewise meet with mediation and protection, to what part of the world soever my Master or the States service shall call me. I can carry but one Chancellor of your University along with me, but I hope I shall leave you many behinde me. And I shall preface likely of the success of our actions, since they are all so followed by your wishes and devotions; which I shall endeavour you may always continue unto

Chelsey, 30 July,
1628.

Your most affectionate friend,
and humble servant,
BUCKINGHAM.

Directed,

*To my very worthy and much-respected friends, The Viceschancellor
and Senate of the University of Cambridge.*

*The Viceschancellor of Cambridge to the King, upon
the Dukes death.*

Dread Sovereign,

THe fatal blowe given your most loyal servant, whom your Majesty made our Patron and Chancellor, hath so stounded our University, as (like a Body without a Soul) she stirs not, till your Majesties directions breathe life again, in the choice of another. And al-

Ff 2

though

though I am but one of many, and therefore (having to do with a multitude) cannot absolutely assure the effecting of your pleasure; yet I dare undertake for my self, with the rest of the Heads, and many others, truly and faithfully to labour in your Majesties desires, and now presume to send fair and strong hopes to give them full satisfaction: Humbly intreating the continuance of your Majesties love and care of your University; the onely stay and comfort of this her sad and mournful estate, occasioned by such an unexpressible disaster; cherishing her self with that blessed word your Majestie used upon her last Election, That howsoever your Majesties appointment shadowed out another, yet your Self in substance would be her Chancellor. This, as an indelible Character in her memory, shall ever return, as all thankful observance, so to God prayers full of cordial zeal, for your Majesties long and happy Reign.

*King Charles to the University of Cambridge, for
a new Election.*

Right Trusty and Welbeloved, We greet you well. As We took in gracious part your due respect in electing heretofore for your Chancellor a man who for his parts and faithful service was most dear unto Us: so now We are well pleased to understand, that you are sensible of your own and the common loss, by the bloody assassination of so eminent a person, and that you desire and expect for your comfort an intimation from Us of a capable subject to succeed in his room. This expression on your part, hath begotten in Us a Royal affection towards you, and more care for your good; out of which, We commend unto free election of you the Vicechancellor and Heads, and of the Masters Regents and Non-Regents (according to Our ancient Custom) Our Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin and Counsellor, *Henry Earl of Holland*, lately a member of your own Body, and well known unto you all: whose hearty affection to advance Religion and Learning generally in Our own Kingdoms, and especially in the Fountains, cannot be doubted of. Not that We shall cease to be your Chancellor in effect, according to Our promise; but the rather for your advantage, We advise you to the choice, that you may have a person acceptable unto Us, and daily attending on Our person, to be Our Remembrancer and Solicitor for you upon all occasions. And your general concurring herein, shall be to Us a
pledge

pledge of Our affections, which We are willing to cherish.
Given at Our Court the 28 of August, in the fourth year of Our Reign.

CAROLUS Rex.

The Earl of Holland to the University.

Mr. Vicechancellor and Gentlemen, the Senate of the University of Cambridge,

THE condition of man is so frail, and his time so short here, that in the sum of his account there are few accidents can deliver him worthy to posterity: yet to prevent my destiny in this defect, you have made my name to live, by your general and free election of me to be your Chancellor; the which will give me so to the world, not my merit. I take but my beginning by this Creation, and will endeavour to proceed with such strength, in my serious affection to serve you all, as you shall see this Honour is not conferred upon an unthankful person. It is my hap to succeed the most excellent example of the best Chancellor, who had both will and power to oblige you: for the first, none can exceed me, that am ryed by my education to serve you: for my power, although it be but short in all other things, yet in what concerns you, my Master, whose word you have, and whose thanks you will receive in my behalf, will for his own sake, if not for mine, accept of all humble requests for you, which may conduce to the support of every particular good, that can any way advantage your whole Body, or advance the several members of our University. For whose increas of fame and honour I do wish, from an affectionate heart, as I profess my self obliged, being

Your most thankful friend,
and humble servant,

Henry Holland.

The

The University of Cambridge to the King.

Serenissimo, & Magnificentissimo Principi, *CAROLO* Dei gratia,
 Britanniae Regi, &c.

Serenissime & Potentissime Monarcha,
Carol. Defensor Fidei, Pater Patriæ:

Dilectis ad Majestatis tuæ pedes discumbimus, veniam humillime deprecamur temeritatis nostræ, Quod Majestati tuæ in illud gloria fastigium evectæ, ad quod nulli Principes a multis reitro seculis provenere, Charitas has ineptas ausi sumus, & querimonias obtrudere, sed nullum jam in terris effulget Majestate tuâ aut illustrius, aut magis beneficium fidem, cuius celestis aspectus mortales afflicti ab adversis, ad salutis portum perducere possint. Sensimus nos per se, læsi sensimus vivificam charitatis tuæ auram, divinam clementiam amplectimur, & benignitatem incredibilem sempiterna veneratione adoramus. Quæ enim per te nobis pax data sit, quæ privilegia indulta & confirmata, quæ gratia, candor, misericordia, beneficentia nobis impertita, nec nos effari possumus, nec ulla secula conticere. O nos felicissimas sub tuo Sceptro, Carole! qui certe miserrimi essemus, si Regio Majestatis tuæ Patrocinio ac favore destitueremur: irruunt in nos omne genus illiteratorum hominum longum harent in nostris malis, & sine magno numine non amoveniunt. Centum olim annos cum oppidani nostris de summa privilegiorum decertavimus, quinquaginta cum Typographis Londinensibus, adeo crudelis est, ac pertinax malitia, quæ luteris bellum indicit; Typographis per tuam in nos pietatem nuper compositis oppidani, veterem odii Camarinam incipiunt commovere. Ita ab Oppidanis ad Typographos, a Typographis ad Oppidanos, nostra in gyrum calamitas circumacta volvitur, & infinitis controversiarum nodis astringimur, & jugulamur. Deflexis genibus Excellentissimam Majestatem tuam imploramus, ut quæ serenitate suam Academiam semper aspexerit, eadem dignetur huic causæ ad dictum a se diem interesse. Et Deum Optim. Max. precabimur, ut te nobis quam diutissime conservec clementissimum Principem, & Patrem indulgentissimum: In cuius salute, totius Regni incolumitas, tranquillitas Literarum, publica seculi felicitas, & bonorum omnium vota abunde continentur.

Servi Majestati tuæ devoti & fideles subditi,
 Procanc' & Senat'.

*An Order made at Whitehall betwixt the University and Town
of Cambridge, Decemb. 4. 1629.*

<i>Lord Keeper.</i>	<i>Lord Chamberlain.</i>	<i>Earl of Kelly.</i>
<i>Lo. Archb. of York.</i>	<i>Earl of Suffolk.</i>	<i>Lord Visc. Dorchester.</i>
<i>Lord Treasurer.</i>	<i>Earl of Dorset.</i>	<i>Lord Visc. Grandison.</i>
<i>Lord President.</i>	<i>Earl of Salisbury.</i>	<i>Lord Bish. of Winton.</i>
<i>Lord Privie Seal.</i>	<i>Earl of Bridgewater.</i>	<i>Master of the Wards.</i>
<i>Lord high Chamberlain.</i>	<i>Earl of Holland.</i>	<i>Master Chamberlain.</i>
<i>Earl Marshal.</i>	<i>Earl of Danby.</i>	<i>Mr. Secretary Cook.</i>
<i>Lord Steward.</i>		

THIS day his Majestie sitting in Councel, did hear at large the controversy between the University of Cambridge and certain Burgers of the Town, concerning the rating and setting the price of *Vi-
tualia*, and particularly of Candles and other necessities comprised under the terms of *Focalia*; and of the consequences lately fallen out upon the controversy: which having been long debated by Counsel learned on both sides, his Majestie finally ordered, by advice of the Boord, That as well the late Maior and Bayliff, and *Williams Bridges*, as *Edward Almond*, *John Ball*, *Jonas Scott*, and *Thomas Oliver*, shall acknowledge and submit themselves (by setting their hands to this Order in the Councel-book) to the Jurisdiction and Priviledges of the University, as well for the rating and setting the price of all manner of *Vi-
tualia*, and of Candles, and all other necessities under the term of *Focalia*, as for the correcting and punishing of all such inhabitants of the Town as shall break and exceed the said rates and prices so set by the Vicechancellor, or such Officers of the University as are in that behalf authorized. And it is further ordered, That all the parties fined by the Vicechancellor, shall pay the Fines, and such charges of the Court as were set upon them by the Vicechancellor; and shall make publike confession, in the Vicechancellors Court, of their fault, in breaking the said rates and prices so set, and refusing to pay the fines so assessed upon them, and questioning the priviledges of the University. And as touching the discommuning of any of the said persons in this Order mentioned, It is ordered, That peace and agreement shall be settled between the parties, according to the performance of that respect and submission which is due from

from the inhabitants of the said Town of Cambridge to the said University.

Ex. Will. Becher.

The University of Cambridge to the Archbishop of York.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, & summo Archi-præsuli, *Samueli*,
 Dei gratia, Archiepiscopo *Eboracensi*, Patrono nostro æternum
 colendo.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater, Archi-præsul amplissime,

Nisi perspecta esset Paternitatis tua in Academiam gratia & favor
 supra quam meremur immensum, vereremur sine multis ambagibus,
 ad tam illustre in Ecclesia caput accedere; verum ea semper fuit indulgentia
 tua, & stabili nobis patrocinium, ut in difficultatibus nostris ultro fueris
 magis ad accurrendum alacer, quam vos esse potuimus ad implorandum; te-
 merarii incidimus in veterem controversia lacunam cum nostris Oppidanis.
 Novit sat Paternitas tua ab experientia multiplici, quas illi erga nos mentes
 gerant, quam atra lolligine & invidia succo a teneris unguiculis pasti fuerint,
 neque jam incipiunt serocire, nec unquam credimus, desinent homines in-
 sulsi, tam dignitatis nostræ immemores, quam rationis suæ, nonnullis eorum
 commercium cum nostris interdiximus, dum procacius, quam parerat fasces
 nostris videbantur contemnere, sed grave est, & permolestum quicquid ca-
 dit in præcipites animos, & ira impotentes. Illi tanquam fulmine percussi
 ad publica iudicium subsellia, Lymphatice festinant, cum possent consultius
 forsan in domibus suis — Nos autem veriti ne Majestas Reipub. Li-
 teraria minueretur, si in foro publico prostituta Academia de privilegiis,
 & summa rerum trepidaret, Senatus Regis tribunali appellavimus. In quo
 cum jam auspiciatissime consedisset tuam Paternitatem, intelligeret *Alma*
Mater, & de honore tua, & sua felicitate eximie triumphabat, nunquam
 oblita virtutis tuæ, & magnanimitatis invictæ, qua solebas hic toties Vice-
 cancellarius ad immortalem nominis tui laudem istiusmodi perduelles con-
 tundere humillime rogamus Paternitatem tuam, pro suo summo in nos affectu
 & pietate, ut quemadmodum semper Academiam ornare studuit, ita nunc
 dignetur eidem periclitanti succurrere.

Pat' tua devotiss.
 Procan' & Senat.

The

The University of Cambridg to the Earl of Manchester.

Illustrissimo, nobilissimo, nostroque amantissimo Domino, Comitⁱ
Manchestria Privati Sigilli Custodi, Regiæ Majestati à Sanctiori-
bus Consiliis, Patrono nostro plurimum colendo.

Honratissime nostrumque amantissime Domine Montacute, Nescimus an ipsi nobis vanâ credulitate blandiamur, sed cum singula tua pro nobis gesta perpendimus, fruimur hac opinione, vix quenquam vivere, qui nostram salutem, literarum incrementum, tranquillitatem Academiæ magis ex animo velit quam nobilissimus Montacutus; tot indies apparent indubitata testimonia amoris tui erga nos integerrimi et profusissimæ benevolentie. Quid dicemus de Typographis, quos tandem aliquando post varios casus et tot discrimina subegimus, quamvis nodum controversiæ Gordianum consuerant non nisi Alexandri gladio explicabilem, et tanquam sepia piscis longa perplexa litis caligine capita involverant ne caperentur. Ac hac ultima sententia vestra momento beneficii favoris magnitudine, celeritate conficiendi trajecit, quicquid ulla spes nobis dictare potuit, aut suggerere, sententia celebris, sancta memorabilis ad opprimendam in perpetuam morosam oppidanorum insolentiam; sententia quam quo penitus contemplamur, eo magis sub stupore bonitatis vestra, et admirationis onere laboramus.

Noli (nec enim fas est) metiri observantia nostre rationem, ex nostro scribendi modulo. Majora de te sentimus quam verba nostra expedire valent, multo minus rependere. Illud nostrum erga te tantum est et tam firmum, ut nulla nova opportunitatis accessione augere queat, aut temporum injuria diminui.

Honori tuo aeternum obligati Procanc^r
& Senatus reliquis Academiæ.

The University of Cambridg to Sir Humphrey May.

Clarissimo & spectatissimo Domino *Humphredo May* Equiti Aurato, & Regiæ Majestatis Procamerario, amico & fautori nostro æternum observando.

Æ Ternas agimus tibi gratias, Clarissime Domine Procamerarie, quod favore tam subito, tam propensâ & inclinâtâ benevolentia ad nostram causam ultro accesseris: subiit forsan & pupugit (clarissime Domine) conditionis nostra pia commiseratio cum videret Musas litibus implicatas circa Tribunalia tremere, quas æquius erat inter lauros & virgulta pacifica in veritatis disquisitione occupari. Verum est, & in hac atate improba sic vivimus, ut frequenter depositâ togâ & calamo, pallia & Clientum soccos induere cogamur: Maxime vero nos ad incommoda pellunt opidani nostri, qui hoc à natura principium mordicus tenent, & nullo dimittunt fato, turbare semper pacem literarum, et bonis Academiæ quovis modo insidiari. O quam magna merces est prudentia, et sobria mens, aqua in utriusque sortis importunitate! sunt quos ipsum felicitatis tedium fatigat ad mortem, & dira contentionis ambitio fanatico quodam astro impellit ad suam perniciem. Post triginta annos simulata pacis, & induciarum oppidulani nostri quietis impatientia, & invidia aculeis ætti, nuper tentare voluerunt quantum possent calcibus contra spinas, aut contra Solem jaculis; at præter pœnitentiam ac suspiria nihil domum reportarunt; Ita Musas in æternum sibi devinxit Senatus ille tremendus & gloriosus, in quo majores dii gentis nostra sedent. Tu in illa scena splendida Regiæ Majestati adstare maluisti, quam tuam inter divos reliquos classem retinere, ut nostro momento inservires, & illud pectus sacrum proprius attingeres, in quo omnes gratiæ nidificant, & nostra beatitudo reconditur. Magna sunt hæc amoris tui testimonia, nolis vero messem sementi parem à nobis expellere; Musa non sunt solvendo. Et tamen, si preces, vota, laudes, encomia pro nobis sufficere possint, Nihil nos tuis meritis debituros confidenter promittimus.

Dignitati tuæ devin&iss. Procanc' & Senat'
vel Academ. Cantabrigiensf.

Instructions

Instructions by King Charles, to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads
of Cambridge for Government, &c. March 4. 1629.

CHARLES REX.

First, that all those directions and orders of our Father of blessed memory, which at any time were sent to our said University, be duly observed and put in execution.

2. Whereas we have been informed that of late years many Students of that our University, not regarding their own birth, degree, and quality, have made divers contracts of marriage with women of meane estate, and of no good fame in that Town, to their great disparagement, the discontent of their parents and friends, and the dishonour of the Government of that our University; we wil, and command you, that at all times hereafter, if any Taverner, Inholder, or Victualer, or any other inhabitant of the Towne, or within the Jurisdiction of the University, shall keep any daughter or other woman in his house to whom there shall resort any Scholars of that University, of what condition so ever, to mispend their time, or otherwise to misbehave themselves in marriage without the consent of those that have the Gardiance and tuition of them, that upon notice thereof, you doe presently convent the said Scholars or Scholar, and the said woman or women thus suspected, before you, and upon due examination, if you find cause therefore, that you command the said woman or women, according to the forme of your Charter against women, *de malo suspectas*, to remove out of the University, and foure miles of the same: And if any refuse presently to obey your commands, and to be ordered by you herein, that you then bind them over with sureties to appeare before the Lords of our Privy Counsel, to answer their contempt, and such matters as shall be objected against them. And if any refuse presently to obey, to imprison them til they either remove or put in such bonds with sureties.

3. That you be careful that all the statutes of our University be duly executed, especially those *de vestitu Scholarum, et de modestia et morum urbanitate*. And whereas we are informed, that Batchelors of Law, Physick, and Masters of Arts, and others of higher degree, pretend they are not subject to your censure, if they resort to such houses

228 *The University of Camb. to the L. Chief Justice Richardson.*

and places as are mentioned in the said statutes, to eat, drink, play, or take Tobacco, to the mispending of their time, and corrupting of others by their ill example, and to the scandalizing of the government of our said University: Our will and pleasure is by these presents, that you doe also command them and every of them, to forbear coming to any such houses, otherwise, or at other times, then by the said statute others of inferiour order and degree. are allowed to doe, any statute or concession whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. And if any refuse to obey you herein, that you proceed against them as contumacious; and if there be cause, that you also signifie their names to us, or the Lords of our privy Counsel.

4. That you doe severely punish all such of your body, of what degree or condition soever, as shall contemne their superiors, or misbehave themselves either in word or deed towards the Vice-Chancellour or Proctors, or any other officers of our University, especially in the executing of their office.

5. Lastly we will and command that a Copy of these our directions be delivered to the Master of every Colledge, and that he cause the same to be published to those of his Colledge, and then to be Registered in the Registers of their Colledges, and duly observed and kept by all persons whom they concern.

*Examinatur, et concordat cum Originali. Ita attestor Jacobus
Fabor Registrarius.*

*The University of Cambridg to the Lord
Chief Justice Richardson.*

Honoratissimo Domino *Thome Richardson* Communium Placitorum Proto Justiciario, & Proedro amico Academiae, & Patrono singulari.

Amplissime et honoratissime Domine, superiori et Termino et Anno te nostris literis & negotiis graviter defatigavimus, & nunc novas afferre molestias nemiquam dubitamus; sed tu pro candore quo polles maximo hanc nostram morositatem benigne interpretare, & da veniam impatienti nostra occasione ad Sacerdotium Hallingburii, quod de cujusdam papicola lapsu in manus nostras ex diplomate serenissimi Regis Jacobi nobis indulto, et per Senatum Regni solennem confirmato venit. Hunc Magistrum

strum Love Collegii divi Petri promovimus, virum fide, doctrinâ, integritate, sanctimonîâ præclarum, qui Procuratoris Officium, magistratum apud nos amplissimum, insigniter administravit, et non sine magna laude fasces ante biennium deposuit, unde liquido constet dominationi tuæ, quibus opulentiis abundat Alma mater, cum virum consularem, et de republica nostra tam bene meritum, tali sacerdotiolo auctum & remuneratum dimittimus. Utinam tamen vel tantillum hoc quod est beneficii homini nostro placidè concederent mortales Dii, et se precibus ad aquanimitatem flitli paterentur. Enim vero nescimus quo malo fato nostro id comparatum sit, et inter sacrum & sacrum semper hereamus, quemadmodum in proverbio est, Inter sacrum quod ambimus, et hominum præcordia saxo dura, nihil nos sine controversia impetrare possumus; sed cogimur virtute nostrâ nos involvere, & probam pauperiem sine dote querere, cum Poeta Horatio; nam in tanta dominorum et captatorum turba, difficile est ad omnes articulos sic excubare, ut qui modeste prensat in lutum non detrudatur; et certe usque adeo præclusus est industria nostræ ad eadem honoris et emolumentis aditus, ut multi repudia literis in æternum renunciare mallet, quam post tot laboribus, consumptam juventutem et senectam studiis immature acceleratam, vana spei cassa nuce ludificari; cum non solum sua nobis negare beneficia, sed et nostrâ abripere terrarum Domini flagitiose contendant. Quid ad te hæc verba spectant, facile conjicias: Nos te Patronum appellamus, quem adversarii nostri Judicem; et per omnia patrocina tua nobis ante hæc gnaviter concessa, per omnia sacra clementia tuæ et amoris in Academiam te obtestamur, ut huic Alumno nostro jus suum et Academiæ dignitatem, sanctam testam, auctoritate tuâ conservare velis: et cum tua merita non aliâ re consequi valeamus, quam debiti agnitione cui sumus impares, memorisq; animi gratâ testimonio, utramque tibi sempiternam religiose pollicemur.

Dii' è frequenti Senatu nostro,
pridie Calend. Maii, 1630.

Honoris tui Clientes assidui Pro-
cancel' et Senatus integer A-
cadem' Cantabrig.

Bishop of Excester to the lower House of Parliament.

Gentlemen,

FOR Gods sake be wise in your well meant zeale: why doe we argue away precions time, that can never be revoked, or repaired? Wo is me, whilst we dispute, our friends perish, and we must follow them.

them. Where are we if we break? (and I tremble to thinke it) we cannot but break if we hold too stiffe. Our Liberties and properties are sufficiently declared to be sure and legal; our remedies are cleare and irrefragable; what do we fear? Every subject now sees the way chalked out before him for future Justice, and who dares henceforth tread besides it? certainly whilst Parliaments live we need not misdoubt the like violation of our freedoms and rights; may we bee but where the loanes found us, we shall sufficiently enjoy our selves, and ours; It is now no season to reach for more. O let us not whilst we over rigidly plead for a higher straine of safety, put our selves into a necessity of ruine, and utter despair of redresse; let us not in a suspicion of evil that may be, cast our selves into a present confusion: if you love your selves, and your Country, remit something of your owne Terms; and since the substance is yeilded by your noble compatriots, stand not too curiously upon points of circumstance: fear not to trust a good King, who after the strictest Law made must be trusted with the execution; think that your Country, yea Christendom lyeth in the mercy of your present resolution, relent or farewell. Farewell from him whose faithfull heart bleeds in a vowed sacrifice for his King and Country.

King Charles to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal.

WE being desirous of nothing more then the advancing of the good peace and prosperity of our people, have given leave to free debates of higest point of our prerogative Royal, which in the times of our Predecessors, Kings and Queens of this Realm, were ever restrained as matter they would not have disputed; and in other things we have been willing so farre to descend to the desires of our good subjects, as might fully satisfie all moderate minds, and free them from all just feares and jealousies, which those messages we have sent unto the Commons House wil well demonstrate to the world; and yet we find it stil insisted on, That in no case whatsoever, should it never so neerly concerne matters of State and Government, we or our privy Counsel have power to commit any man without the cause be shewed. The service it selfe would be thereby destroyed and defeated; and the cause it selfe must be such as may be determined by our Judges of our causes at *Westminster*, in a legal and ordinary way of Justice; whereas the cause may be such, as these Judges have not capacity

capacity of Judicature, nor rules of Law, to direct and guide their Judgments in cases of transcendent nature, which happening so often, the very intermitting of the constant rules of Government for so many ages within this Kingdome practised, would soone dissolve the very frame and foundation of our Monarchy; wherefore as to our Commons we made faire propositions, which might equally preserve the just liberties of the subject: So my Lords, we have thought good to let you know, that without the overthrow of our sovereignty, we cannot suffer this power to be impeached; yet notwithstanding, to clear our conscience and intentions, this we publish, that it is not in our heart or will, ever to extend our Royal power (lent unto us from God) beyond the just rule of moderation in, any thing which shall be contrary to our Lawes and Customes, wherein the safety of our people shall be our only aime. And we do hereby declare our Royal pleasure and resolution to be, which (God willing) we wil ever constantly continue and maintaine, that neither we nor our Privy Counsel shall, or will at any time hereafter commit or command to prison, or otherwise restrain the person of any for not lending mony unto us, or for any other cause which in our conscience, doth concern the publick good, and safety of us and our people; we wil not be drawn to pretend any cause which in our conscience is not, or is not expressed, which base thought we hope no man can imagine, can fall into our Royal brest: and that in all causes of this nature which shall hereafter happen, we shall upon the humble Petition of the party, or addressse of our Judges unto us, readily and really expresse the true cause of their Commitment or restraint, so soone as with conveniency or safety the same is fit to be disclosed and expressed; and that in all causes Criminal of ordinary Jurisdiction, our Judges shall proceede to the deliverance and bailment of the Prisoner, according to the known and ordinary rules of the Lawes of this Land; and according to the Statute of *Magna charta*, and those other six statutes insisted on, which we do take knowledge stand in full force, and which we intend not to weaken, or abrogate against the true intent thereof.

This we have thought fit to signifie unto you, the rather for the shortning of any long debate upon this question, the season of the year being so far advanced; and our great occasions of State, not lending us many daies of long continuance of this Session of Parliament.

Given under our signet, at our Pallace at *Westminster*, the twelfth day of *May* in the Fourth Year of our Reigne.

CAROLUS REX.

A Conn-

*A Counſel Table Order againſt hearing Maſs at Embaſſadors houſes,
March 10. 1629*

At White-hall the tenth of March. 1629.

PRESENT.

<i>Lord Keeper.</i>	<i>Lord Wimbleton.</i>
<i>Lord Treasurer.</i>	<i>Lord Viſcount Dorcheſter.</i>
<i>Lord Preſident.</i>	<i>Lord Viſcount Wentworth.</i>
<i>Lord Privy Seale.</i>	<i>Lord Viſcount Grandiſon.</i>
<i>Lord Steward.</i>	<i>Lord Viſcount Faulkland.</i>
<i>Lord Chamberlaine.</i>	<i>Lord Savile.</i>
<i>Earl of Suffolke.</i>	<i>Lord Newbergh.</i>
<i>Earl of Dorſet.</i>	<i>M^r. Vice Chamberlaine.</i>
<i>Earl of Salisburie.</i>	<i>M^r. Secretary Cooke.</i>

AT this Sitting the Lord Viſcount *Dorcheſter* declared, that his Ma-
jeſty being informed of the bold and open repaire made to ſe-
veral places, and ſpecially to the houſes of forraine Ambaſſadors, for
the hearing of Maſſe, which the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome
do expreſſly forbid his Subjects to frequent: and conſidering in his
Princely wiſdome, both the publick Scandals, and dangerous conſe-
quence thereof, is reſolved to take preſent order for the ſtopping of
this evil before it ſpread it ſelfe any further, and for this purpoſe had
commanded him to acquaint the Board with his pleaſure in that be-
halfe, and what courſe he thinketh fit to be held therein; and withal
to demand the opinion and advice of their Lordſhips concerning the
ſame, his Majeſty being deſirous to uſe the beſt and moſt effectually
expedient that can be found. Hereupon his Lordſhip proceeding, did
further declare, that his Majeſty (to ſhew the cleareneſſe and earneſt-
neſſe of his intention herein) hath begun at his owne houſe, viz.
Whereſoever the Queens Majeſty hath any Chappel being intended
for the only ſervice of her, and for thoſe French who attend her;
for which the Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord Chamberlaine to her Majeſty,
hath been commanded to take ſpecial care; according to ſuch direc-
tions as he hath received from his Majeſty. That for ſo much as con-
cerneth

cerneth the repaire to the houses of Forraine Embassadors at the time of Masse, his Majesty thinks fit that some messengers of the Chamber, or other officers or persons fit for that service, shall be appointed to watch all the severall passages to their houses, and without entring into the said houses, or infringing the freedoms and priviledges belonging unto them, observe such persons as go thither, but at their coming from thence, they are to apprehend them and bring them to the Board; and such as they cannot apprehend, to bring their names. But to the end that the said Forraine Embassadors may have no cause to complaine of this proceeding; as if there were any intention to wrong or disrespect them, his Majesty doth likewise think fit, that for the preventing of any such mistaking and sinister Interpretation, the said Embassadors shall be acquainted with the truth of this businesse; and likewise assured in his Majesties name, that he is, and will be as careful to conserve all priviledges and rights belonging to the quality of their places, as any of his Progenitors have been, and in the same manner as himselfe expecteth that their Princes shall use towards his Embassadors.

Lastly, That it is his Majesties expresse pleasure that the like diligence be used for the apprehending of all such as repaire to Masse in prisons or other places.

The Board having heard this declaration, did unanimously conclude, that there could not be taken a more effectuell course for the preventing of these evils, then this which his Majesty in his wisdome hath set downe, and therefore did order that the same be immediately put in strict and careful execution. And it was likewise thought fit, that the Lord Viscount *Dorchester*, and Mr. *Secretary Cooke*, should be sent to the forraine Embassadors severally, to acquaint them with his Majesties intention, as is before mentioned; and that the messengers of the Chamber to be employed in the service before specified shall be appointed and receive their charge from the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Bishop of *London*, and the Secretaries, who are to take a speciall care to see this put in execution.

King of Spaine to Pope Urban. Sept. 21. 1629.

MOST Holy Father, I condescended that my forces should be employed in the execution of *Mountferrat*, to divert the introduction of strangers into *Italie*, with so evident danger of Religion: I suffered the siege of *Cassal* to run on so slowly, to give time that by way of negotiation those differences might be composed with the reciprocal satisfaction of the parties interessed; and to shew in effect, what little reason all *Italy* had to be jealous of the Arms of my Crown, for having possessed many places of importance; some I have freely given away, and others after I had defended them in a time the owners had need, I presently restored with much liberality. Upon this moderation the Duke of *Nivers*, being hardned against the Emperor my Uncle, and he perhaps and other Princes calling thither the most Christian King, who not contenting himselfe to have attained that which he publicly professed to desire, and having left Garrison in *Mountferrat*, and in *Susa*, and as (I am told) having fortified some places, hath thereby given occasion to the Emperour my Uncle, to give order his Army should passe into *Italy*, to maintaine the Authority, Jurisdiction and preheminency of the Empire, with whom I can doe no lesse then concurre, and give him assistance, in respect of the great and strict obligation of Blood, of Honour, and of Conveniency which I hold with his imperial Majesty, and for the ----- which I doe acknowledge from the sacred Empire; declaring now, as I have done heretofore, and as my Embassadours have told your Holinesse; that in this businesse, I do neither directly nor indirectly aim at any other end of mine own particular interest. But beholding the numerous Armies of the Emperour in *Italy*, and with extreme grieve foreseeing the harmes, inconveniences and dangers that *Italy* must thereby suffer in matter of Religion, being that which most importeth; I doe not only resent it, in respect of that portion which God hath given me in Christendome, but especially as a King and Prince of *Italy*, the peace of those Provinces being disturbed, which my Progenitors with so much Judgment and providence, and with so much Authority and benefit of the Natives had so many years preserved. Wherefore I thought it my duty to present unto your beatitude that experience hath demonstrated that to oppose and straighten the Jurisdiction of the Emperour, and to resist his commandments, hath brought matters
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to these difficult terms, and this way being still persisted in, there must needs follow those mischiefs which we desire to shun. Now the most convenient manner how to compose these businesses, is that your Holinesse doe effectually perswade the Duke of Nivers to accomodate himself to the Justice and obedience of the Emperour, and the King of France to recall his Armies out of Italy, and the Princes that doe aid Nivers, no more to interest themselves in the businesse, even as from the beginning my Ministers have propounded to your Beatitude; because this difference being ended juridically, all the persons interessed shall come off with honour and reputation, and so all of them shall have a ground to beseech the Emperour, that out of his wonted clemency, he wil take off that impression, which he justly might have conceived against the Duke of Nivers; whereupon things inclining to this issue, I shal with a very good will imploy my best offices to the end that speedy and exact justice may be administred, and also that his *Cæsarian* Majesty may give experimental effects of his magnanimity and stability, desiring with a most sincere affection, that so much Christian blood may be spared, as would be spilt in this war, and that those forces might be employed to the service, and not to the prejudice of Christendome. Thus have I cleerly and sincerely delivered my meaning unto your Holinesse, to the end that knowing my intention, you may do those offices which your manifold wisdom shall find proper for the place whereto God hath advanced you; and if God for our sins have decreed to chastise Christendome, by continuing the war; let this dispatch be a testimony of my good wil, and real intention towards peace; for the prosecuting whereof, I on my part, will alwaies imbrace any reasonable and proportionable meanes. Oar Lord God preserve your Beatitude a thousand yeares.

*The Councel of Ireland to King Charles in defence of the Lord
Deputie Faulkland. April 28. 1629*

May it please your most excellent Majesty, we stand so bounden to your royall Self, and your most blessed Father our late deceased Sovereigne Lord and Master, as we are urged in duty to prostrate this act of our faith at your Majesties feet, as an assay to cleer some things wherein misinformation may seem to have approached your high Wisdom. We understand that it is collected out of some

late Dispatches from hence, that there are such disorders in the Government here, as by the present Governors are remediable; all which is ascribed to the differences between persons of chief place; We do in all humility testify and declare that we have not seen or known any inconvenience to the publick service by the difference between your Majesties Deputy and Chancellor, neither have of late seen or heard any act or speech of contention between them. Other difference between persons of any eminent Action wee understand none, neither are any disorders here yet so overgrown, as to surpasse the redresse of the present Governour, especially so long as he hath such a standing English Army, as your Majesty now alloweth; if only we may receive some supply of Armes and munition, which we have often written for, do daily expect, and which shall be no losse to your Majesty. It is true, most gracious Sovereign, that in some late dispatches we mentioned three grievances in this government, which in extent may threaten much, if we be not timely directed from thence concerning them, *viz.* the insolence and excrecence of the Popish pretended Clergie, the disorder and offence of the *Irish* Regiment, and the late outrageous presumption of the unsetled Irish, in some parts; towards all which (being parties perhaps otherwise conceived of there, then understood here) your Deputy and Councel have of late used particular abstinence, holding themselves somewhat limited concerning them, by late Instructions, Letters and directions from thence. And therefore lest countenance of that course, might turn to greater damage, we make choice seasonably to crave expression of the good pleasure of your Highnesse, and the most Honourable Lords of your Councel, lest our actions and zeal therein might vary from the purposes on that side, and so want of unanimity in both States, breake the progresse of the Reformation; not that we any way make doubt to give your Majesty a good accompt of our selves therein, and of the full eviotion of those evils in due time, so we might be assured of your Majestys and their Lordships good allowance of our endeavours, being confident in all humility, to declare and affirme to your Sacred Majesty, that the rest of this great body, (as to the civil part thereof) is in far better order at this time, then ever it was in the memory of man; as wel in the current and general execution of Justice according to the Lawes, in the freedom of mens persons and estates, (the present charge of the Army excepted) and in the Universal outward subjection of all sorts of settled inhabitants to the Crowne and Lawes of *England*, and also in the advancement of the Crowne Revenues; and lastly, in the competent number of Bishops, and o-
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therable and Learned Ministers of the Church of *England* of all sorts, which we especially attribute to the blessednesse of your time, and to the Industries, Zeale, Judgment and moderation of your Deputy, as well in your Majesty service, as towards this people; having now well learned this great office; and to the good beginnings of the two last precedent Deputies under direction of your most Renowned Father.

Secondly, we understand that your Deputy and Council are blamed for the present surcharge of your Revenues here, far beyond the support thereof.

Herein your Royal Majesty may be pleased to cause a review of our dispatch from hence, in *August* 1627. wherein it wil appear; that their part in that offence hath been only obedience to extraordinary warrants from thence, and that if those warrants had not beene fully performed out of your Revenues, you had had about 40000 pound Irish to pay pensioners, in your Coffers, and answer other necessities which have since increased.

So as we humbly crave pardon freely to affirme, that the fault hath not been here; and further also to say for your Majesties honour and our comfort, that during 100 years last past, *England* hath never been so free of the charge of Ireland, as now it is.

Thirdly, we understand that your Deputy is accused for miscarriage in the legal prosecution of *Phelim Mach Frough*, and others adhering to him in certain treasonable Acts and Practises. Herein we most humbly beseech your Majesty, that a review may be of a declaration sent from hence about the beginning of your Deputies government, signed by him and all the Counsel then here, whereby wil appear how the parts of *Lemster*, at least, have been from age to age infested by him and his predecessors, and the inhabitants of the territory of *Ranelagh*, wherein he tooke upon him a Chieffery; and therein will also appeare, that it was the special affection and endeavour of several worthy Deputies here to have cleared that offensive plot, which no wise State could suffer so neer the seat thereof, and that they also severally attempted it by force, the said *Phelims* Father being slain by actuall Rebellion by Sir *William Russels* prosecution; but the generall Rebellion of the Kingdome alwaies interrupted the settlement thereof. This being at that time the declaration of the State, moved your Deputy, being a stranger, to have a wary aspect upon the people, for the Common peace, which he hath carefully performed. Afterwards at the time when the general voice was amongst the *Irish*, that the *Spaniards* would be here, your Deputie had cause

to examine several persons and causes concerning that Rumour whereby fell out to be discovered to him among others, that this *Phelim* had confederated for raising a Commotion in *Lemster*, and murdering a *Scottish* Minister, and Justice of peace (a ready instrument in Crown Causes) inhabiting about the border of the said territory. Before which time, we never heard of any displeasure or hard measure born by your said Deputy to him, or offence taken by him, at any particular done to him, unless he were offended that your Deputy refused his money offered to blanch your Majesties title to the Lands in *Ranlagh*, now granted to undertakers, discovered and prosecuted at first by his brother *Redmond* and his Council *Peter de la Hoyd*, We do also herein in all humility testifie, and declare that he acquainted several Privy Councillors here, and others of Judgment with the same. And also in every Act and passage thereof used the labour and presence, either of your Majesties Privy Concellours, Judges, or learned Council, alwaies professing publickly and privately (which we also in our consciences do believe) that he had no particular envy or displeasure to *Phelims's* person, or any of his, neither had any end in what might fall out upon that discovery or pains, or any act done concerning that Country, other then the reducement thereof, to the conformity of other civil parts; the common peace of your Majesties good Subjects adjacent, and the legal and plenary effecting of that which by so many good governours in times of disturbance could not be done, there being no power in him to make any particular benefit of the Escheate, either in lands or goods; and before any thing was to be done for the tryal of him and the rest for their lives, he made a speedy and immediate address to your Majesty, dated 27. *August* 1628 upon the indictment found, to inform you of the then present estate of that businesse, which we have seen, not doing it before (as he affirms) for that he had formerly received gracious approbations of his proceedings in the like discoveries.

We also in all humbleness and duty do declare and protest, that if upon their evil demerits, and the due proceedings of Law, those now questioned may be taken away, and the Territory settled in legal Government and English order, (towards which a strong Fort is already almost built in the midst of it by your Majesties Undertakers lately planted there: It will be a service of the greatest importment to bridge the Irish, assure the inhabitants of other Parts, and strengthen the generall peace of the Kingdom (next to the great Plantation of *Ulster*) that hath been done in this age. If otherwise they shall by fair tryall acquit the course of your Majesties free and indifferent justice,

it will make them wary in point of duty and loyalty hereafter. And we do further in all submission declare, That in these discoveries, (the persons and Causes considered) it was of necessity that the personal pains of your Highness Deputy should be bestowed; the rather, for that the Evidences being to be given for the most part by persons involved in the same confederacies, and who were to become actors, they would not be drawn to confess truths to any inferior Ministers, being of stubborn and malign spirits; besides the dissuasions of Priests, and of the Dependants and manifold Allies of the said *Phelim*, if they had not been warily look'd after.

Lastly, We in all humbleness of heart and freedom of faithful servants, do beseech your most sacred Majesty to consider how much the sufferings of your zealous servants may prove to your disservice, especially in this place, where discouragement of your most dextrous service is most aimed at by multitudes of several qualities, and cannot but soon perplex the present happy state of your affairs. We beseech the eternall God to guide and prosper your Majesties advices and designs.

28. April 1629.

Your most humble and obedient
Subjects and Servants.

Signed by

L. Primate
V. Valentia
V. Kilmallock
V. Ranelagh.
L. Dillon.

L. Causseild,
L. Augier
L. Pr. of Munster
L. Chief Justice

S^r Adam Loftus
M^r of the Wards
L. Chief Baron.
S^r Charles Coote.

Ab Ignoto, *Of the Affairs of Spain, France and
Italy, 5 Jan. 1629.*

SIR,

Though it be now full three months since I received any line from you, yet I dare not, nor will I for that respect discontinue my writing to you; and because no private businesse occurreth, I will be bold to advise a line or two concerning the publick affairs of *Italy*: *Cassal* is still made good against the *Spaniard*, not by the Duke of *Mantua*, for he poor Prince was long since bankrupt, but by the succours of *France* and this Seignory, the former contributing monthly 40000 Dollers, the latter 20000, not only to maintaine the *Cassaleschi*, but also to enable the Duke to stand fast against all other
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the *Spaniards* attempts; mean while we hear say boldly, that a league offensive and defensive against the *Spaniards* in *Italy* is concluded betweene the *French* and the *Venitians*; and that the *French* King hath already sent out two Armies, one under the Duke of *Guise* by sea, who they say is landed at *Nizza*; the other under the *Marquess de Cœure*, who is marching hitherward through the *Valtoline*; and though I doubt something these proceedings of the *French*, yet I am sure the Seignior doth daily give out new Commissions for the levying of Souldiers in that number, that now every one demands what strange enterprize this State hath in hand, and all jump in this, that it is against the *Spaniard*. The Pope is still adverse to the *Spaniard*, and inclines strongly to the good of *Italy*, animating this State to meete the *French* with a declaration, and the *French* to conclude a peace on any honorable terms with us, that they may the more safely follow their present designs, which is to suppress the *Spaniards* in *Italy*. his Catholick Majesty hath lost a great deal of credit in these parts, by the losse of his Silver Fleete; and that he is in extreme want of mony, is collected here from the present state of some of his publick Ministers. *Ognat* his ordinary Embassadour at *Rome*, being lately recalled, instead of going home into *Spaine*, hath retyred himselfe privately to *Monte Pincio*, being in such premunire that he is not able to accommodate himselfe with necessaries for his journey. And *Monte-vei* who is to succeed him is arrived as far *Sienna*, but being foundred in his purse, is able to get no farther, meane while, living there in an Inne. Moreover the Merchants in *Rome*, are advised by their correspondents in *Spaine*, to be wary in letting either of them have monies; this is from a good hand in *Rome*. Sir *Kenelm Digby* hath lately been at *Delus*; where he hath laden great store of Marble, he is said to be in very good plight and Condition. I trouble you no more.

Venice 5. January
1629. *Stilo novo*.

Your faithful servant, C. H.

*The Lords of the Councel of England, to the Lords of the
Councel in Ireland, 31 Jan. 1629.*

BY your Letter dated the ninth of *January* we understand how the seditious riot moved by the Friars and their adherents at *Dublin*, hath by your good order and resolution been happily suppressed, and we doubt

doubt not but by this occasion, you will consider how much it concerneth the good Government of that Kingdome, to present in time the first growing of such evils; for where such people be permitted to swarm, they wil soon grow licentious, and endure no government but their own, which cannot otherwise be restored then by a due and seasonable execution of the Law, and of such directions as from time to time have been sent from his Majesty and this Board. Now it redoundeth much to the honour of his Majesty, that the world shall take notice of the ability and good service of his Ministers there, which in person he hath been pleased openly in Councell, and in most gracious manner to approve and commend; whereby you may be sufficiently encouraged to go on with like resolution and moderation, til the work be solely done, as well in City as in other places of your Kingdome, the carriage whereof we must leave to your good discretions, whose particular knowledge of the present state of things can guide you better, when and where to carry a soft or harder hand; only this we hold necessary to put you in mind, that you continue in that good agreement amongst your selves, for this and other services which your Lettrers do expresse; and for which we commend you much, that the good servants of the King and state may find encouragement equally from you all; and the ill affected may find no support or countenance from any; nor any other connivances used but by general advice, for avoiding of further evils, shall be allowed; and such Magistrates and Officers, if any shal be discovered that openly or underhand favour such disorders, or do not their duties in suppressing them, and committing the offenders, you shall doe well to take all fit and safe advantages, by the punishment or displacing of a few, to make the rest more cautious. This we write, not as misliking the faire course you have taken; but to expresse the concurrency of our Judgments with yours, and to assure you of our assistance in all such occasions wherein for your further proceedings, we have advised. And his Majesty requireth you accordingly to take order, first that the house wherein Seminary Friars appeared in their habits, and wherein the Reverend Arch-Bishop, and the Maior of *Dublin* received the first affront, be speedily demolished, and be the mark of terror to the resisters of Authority, and that the rest of the houses erected or employed there, or elsewhere to the use of suspicious societies, be converted to houses of correction, and to set the people on work, or to other publick uses, for the advancement of Justice, good Arts or Trades; and further, that you use all fit meanes to discover the Founders, Benefactors and Maintainers of such Societies and Colledges, and certifie their

The Lord Faulklands Petition to the King.

names, and that you find out the Lands, Leases, or Revenues applyed to their uses, and dispose thereof according to the Law, and that you certifie also the places and institutions of all such *Monaisteries, Priories, Nunneries*, and other Religious houses, and the names of all such persons as have put themselves to be brothers and sisters therein, especially such as are of note, to the end such evil plants be not permitted to take root any where in that Kingdome, which we require you take care of. For the supply of Munition which you have reason to desire, we have taken effectuell order that you shall receive it with all convenient speed. And so &c.

Lord Keeper.

Lord Treasurer.

Lord President.

Lord Privy Seale.

L. high Chamberlain.

Earl of Suffolk.

Earl of Dorset.

Earl of Salisbury.

Earl of Kelly.

Lord Viscount Dorchester.

Lord Newbergh.

Mr. Vice Chamberlaine.

Mr. Secretary Cooke.

Sir William Alexander.

The Lord Faulkland's Petition to the King.

Most humbly shewing, that I had a Sonne, until I lost him in your Highnesse displeasure, where I cannot seeke him because I have not will to find him there. Men say, there is a wilde young man now prisoner in the Fleete, for measuring his actions by his own private sense. But now that for the same your Majesties hand hath appeared in his punishment, he bowes and humbles himselfe before and to it: whether he be mine or not, I can discern by no light, but that of your Royal Clemency; for only in your forgiveness can I owne him for mine. Forgiveness is the glory of the supremest powers, and this the operation, that when it is extended in the greatest measure, it converts the greatest offenders into the greatest lovers, and so makes purchase of the heart, an especial priviledg peculiar and due to Sovereigne Princes.

If now your Majesty will vouchsafe out of your owne Benignity, to become a second nature, and restore that unto me which the first gave me, and vanity deprived me of, I shall keep my reckoning of the full number of my sons with comfort, and render the tribute of my

my most humble thankfulnesse, else my weake old memory must forget one.

The Duke of Modena to the Duke of Savoy. July 30. 1629.

WHEN I was deprived of my Mistris the *Infanta Izabella*, so intimately beloved of me, I was suddenly possessed with a most ardent desire of finding the meanes how to follow her into Paradise; and distrusting in regard of my weaknesse and life past, that I was not able to stand in those dangers wherein that holy soule knew how to finde security and tranquillity, I resolved to retire my selfe out of the tempestuous sea of Government, and to shelter my selfe in the harbour of Religion, rejoycing to sacrifice that unto God, which useth to be so highly esteemed in the world; and knowing that truly to raigne, is to serve his Divine Majesty, hitherto I deferred the execution of my purpose, because being bound in this, to depend upon the Counsel of him that governed my soule, it seemed not expedient to him, that I should retire my selfe while there was need of my assistance, both in respect of the age of the Duke my father (which was *Cesar d'Este*, who dyed 1628) and of the nonage of the Prince my son (which is *Don Francisco*, who now governeth.) Now that these impediments are removed, I goe most contentedly whither the Lord doth call me, namely, to take upon me the Capuchin Religion out of *Italy*; and I doe promise to find for my self in one little Cel, that repose which all the greatnesse of the world cannot give me. True it is, if I should look back upon my life past, I should find motives rather of terrour, then of comfort: But the mercy of God doth make me confident, and my having (for his love, and to performe his wil) renounced all that I could or had, I departed also most comforted, because I leave the Prince my son so well qualified, that I may confidently expect an excellent issue of his Government, especially if your Highness shall vouchsafe to direct him with your most prudent Counsels, and to shrowd him under your benigne protection, whereunto with reverent affection I doe recommend him together with the rest of my sonnes, especially *Carlo Alexandro* (who is now living in your Highnesse his Court) since that (as a man may say) they have no other Father then your Highnesse, and are branches of your Princely house.

Unto your Highnesse was in all respects due from me the accompt

which I have given you of my vocation; I beseech you to accept it, and to believe that I will alwaies be answerable to my dutie, and will pray for the spirituall and temporal increase of your Highnesse, whose hands I reverently kisse.

From *Salvado* the
30th of July, 1629.

Your Highness most humble and most
obliged servant,

Aljous d'Este.

Sir Kenhelm Digby to Sir Edward Stradling.

*To my Honourable Friend Sir Edward Esterling, alias
Stradling, aboard his ship.*

MY much honoured freind, I am too well acquainted with the weaknesse of my abilities (that are farre unfit to undergoe such a task as I have in hand) to flatter my selfe with the hope that I may either informe your understanding, or do my selfe honour by what I am to write. But I am so desirous that you should be possessed with the true knowledge of what a bent will I have upon all occasions to doe you service, that obedience to your Command weigheth much more with me then the lawfulnessse of my excuse can, to preserve me from giving you in writing such a testimony of my ignorance and erring fantasie, as I fear this will prove. Therefore without any more circumstances, I wil as near as I can, deliver to you in this paper, what the other day I discoursed to you, upon the 22^d Staffe of the ninth Canto in the second book of that matchlesse Poem, *The Fairy Queen*, written by our *English Virgil*, whose words are these.

*The Frame thereof seem'd partly Circular,
And part Trianguler: O work Divine!
These two the first and last proportions are,
Th'one imperfect, mortal, feminine;
Th'other immortal, perfect, masculine:
And twixt them both a quadrat was the base,
Proportion'd equally, by seven, and nine;
Nine was the Circle set in heavens place,
All which compacted, made a goodly Diapase.*

In this Staff the Author seemeth to me to proceed in a differing manner from what he doth elsewhere generally through his whole
book,

booke; for in other places, although the beginning of this Allegorie or mistical sense may be obscure, yet in the processe of it he doth himselfe declare his owne conceptions in such sort, that they are obvious to any ordinary capacity: But in this, he seemeth only to glance at the profoundest notions that any science can deliver to us; and then of a suddaine, as it were recalling himself out of an Enthusiastme, he returneth to the gentle relation of the Allegorical history that he had begun, leaving his readers to wander up and down in much obscurity, and to rove with much danger of erring at his intention in these lines; which I conceive to be dictated by such a learned spirit, and so generally a knowing soule, that were there nothing else extant of *Spencers* writings, yet these few words would make me esteeme him no whit inferiour to the most famous men that ever have been in any age, as giving an evident testimony herein, that he was thoroughly versed in the Mathematicall sciences, in Philosophy and Divinity, unto all which this might serve for an ample Theame to make large Commentaries upon; In my praises upon this subject I am confident, that the worth of the Author will preserve me from this censure, that my ignorance only begetteth this admiration, since he hath written nothing that is not admirable. But that it may appeare, I am guided somewhat by my owne Judgement, (although it be a very meane one) and not by implicit faith, and that I may in the best manner I can comply with what you may expect from me, I will not longer hold you in suspence, but begin immediately (though abruptly) with the declaration of what I conceive to be the true sense of this place; which I shall not goe about to adorne with any plausible discourses, or with authorities and examples drawne from others writings; (since my want both of conveniency and learning would make me fall very short herein) but it shall bee enough for me to intimate my conceptions, and to offer them up unto you in their own simple and naked forme, leaving to your better Judgment, the examination of the waight of them; and after perusal of them, beseeching you to reduce me, if you perceive me to erre. It is evident, that the Authors intention in this Canto, is to describe the body of man informed with a rational soule; and in prosecution of that designe, he setteth down particularly the severall parts of the one, and the faculties of the other. But in this *Stanza* he comprehendeth the general description of them both, as (being joyned together to frame a compleat man) they make one perfect compound, which will appear bettter by taking a survey of every severall Clause thereof by it selfe.

*The frame thereof seem'd partly circular,
And part triangular.* —————

By these figures, I conceive that he meaneth the Mind and the Body of man, the first being by him compared to a Circle, and the latter to a Triangle; for as the Circle of all figures is the most perfect, and includeth the greatest space, and is every way full, and without angles, made by the continuation of one onely line; so mans soul is the noblest and most beautiful creature that God hath created, and by it we are capable of the greatest gifts which God can bestow, which are Grace, Glory, and Hypostatical union of the humane Nature to the divine: and she enjoyeth perfect freedom and liberty in all other actions, and is made without composition, (which no figures are that have angles; for they are caused by the coincidence of several lines) but of one pure substance, which was by God breathed into a body made of such compounded earth, as in the preceding Stanza the Author describeth; and this is the exact image of him that breathed it, representing him as fully as it is possible for any creature, which is infinitely distant from the Creator. For as God hath neither beginning nor ending, so neither of these can be found in a Circle; although that being made of the successive motion of a line, it must be supposed to have a beginning somewhere. God is compared to a circle whose center is every where, but whose Circumference no where; but mans soul is a circle whose circumference is limited by the true center of it, which is only God. For as a circumference doth in all parts alike respect that indivisible point, and as all lines drawn from the inner side of it, do make right angles with it when they meet therein; so all the interior actions of mans soul ought to have no other respective point to direct themselves unto but God: and as long as they make right angles, which is, that they keep the exact middle of vertue, and decline not to either of the sides where the contrary vices dwell, they cannot fail but meet in their Center.

By the Triangular figure he very aptly designeth the Body: For as the Circle is of all other figures the most perfect, and most capacious; so the Triangle is the most imperfect, and includeth the least space: It is the first and lowest of all figures; for fewer then three right lines cannot comprehend and inclose a superficies; having but three angles, they are all acutes (if it be equilateral) and but equall to two right ones; in which respect all other regular figures consisting of more then three lines, do exceed it: May not these be resembled to the three great and compounded Elements in mans body, to wit, Salt, Sulphur, and Mercury? which mingled together, do make the natural heat,
and

and radicall moisture, the two qualities whereby man liveth: for the more lines that do go to comprehend a figure, the more and greater the angles are, and the neerer it cometh to the perfection of a Circle.

A Triangle is composed of several lines, and they of points which yet do not make a quantity by being contiguous one to another, but rather the motion of them doth describe the lines. In like manner the Body of man is compounded of the four Elements, which are made by the four primary qualities, not compounded of them (for they are but accidents;) but by their operation upon the first matter.

And as a Triangle hath three lines, so a solid body hath three dimensions, to wit, Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity: but of all bodies mans is of the lowest rank (as the Triangle is among figures) being composed of the Elements, which make it liable to alteration and corruption. In which consideration of the dignity of bodies, I divide them by a general division, into sublunary, which are the elementated ones; and into the ethereal (which are supposed to be of their own nature incorruptible:) and peradventure there are some other species of corporeal substances, which is not in this place to dispute.

— O work Divine!

Certainly of all Gods works the noblest and the perfectest is man; and for whom indeed all others were done; for if we consider his soul, it is the very Image of God; if his body, it is adorned with the greatest beauty and excellent symmetry of parts of any created thing, whereby it witnesseth the perfection of the Architect, that of so drossie mould is able to make so excellent a Fabrick: if his operations, they are free; if his end, it is eternal glory; and if you take him altogether, man is a little world, an exact type of the great world, and of God himselfe.

But in all this me thinketh that the admirable worke is the joyning together of the two different, and indeed opposite substances in man to make one perfect compound; the soul and the body, which are of so contrary a nature, that their uniting seemeth to be a miracle: for how can one informe and work in the other, since there is no meane of operation (that we know) betweene a spiritual substance and a Corporal? yet we see that it doth. As hard it is to find the true proportion between a Circle and a Triangle, yet that there is a just proportion; and that they may be equal, *Archimides* hath left us an ingenious demonstration: but in reducing it to a Probleme, it faileth in this, That because the proportion betweene a crooked line and a straight one is not known, one must make use of a mechanical way of measuring the Peripherie of the one, to convert it into the side of the other. Those

These two the first and last proportions are.

What I have already said concerning a Circle and a Triangle, doth sufficiently unfold what is meant in this verse; yet it will not be amisse to speak one word more hereof in this place, All things that have existence may be divided into three Classes; which are, either what is pure and simple in it self, or what hath a nature compounded of what is simple, or what hath a nature compounded of what is compounded. In continued quantity this may be exemplified by a point, a line, and a superficies, or body; and in numbers by an Unity, a Denary, and a Centenary. The first, which is onely pure and single, like an indivisible point, or an Unity, hath relation onely to the Divine Nature; that point then moving in a sphericall manner (which serveth to expresse the perfections of Gods actions) describeth the circle of our souls, and of Angels, and of intellectual substances, which are of a pure and simple nature; but receiveth that from what is so in a perfecter manner, and that hath his from none else: like lines that are made from the flowing of points, or denaries that are composed of unities, beyond both which there is nothing.

In the last place bodies are to be ranked, which are composed of the Elements, and they likewise suffer composition, and may very well be compared to the lowest of figures which are composed of lines, that owe their being to points (and such are Triangles); or to Centenaries, that are composed of Denaries, and they of Unites: but if wee will compare these together by proportion, God must be left out, since there is an infinite distance between the simplicity and perfection of his nature, and the composition and imperfection of all created substances, as there is between an indivisible point and a continue quantity; or between a simple unity, and compounded number: so that onely the other two kindes of substances do enter into this consideration, and of them I have already proved, that mans soule is of the one the noblest, being dignified by Hypostaticall union above all other intellectual substances, and his elementated body of the other, the most low and corruptible; whereby it is evident, that these two are the first and last proportions both in respect of their owne figure, and of what they expresse.

The one imperfect, mortal, feminine,

The other immortal, perfect, masculine.

Mans body hath all the properties of imperfect matter, it is but the patient, of it self alone it can doe nothing, it is lyable to corruption and dissolution if it once be deprived of the forme, which actuateth it selfe, and is incorruptible and immortal.

And

And as the feminine sex is imperfect, and receiveth perfection from the masculine, so doth the body from the soul, which to it is in lieu of a Male; and as in corporall generations the Female doth afford but grosse and passive matter, unto which the Male giveth active heat and prolificall vertue; so in spirituall generations, (which are the operations of the Mind) the body administ'reth only the Organs, which if they were not imployed by the Soul, would of themselves serve to nothing. And as there is a mutuall appetence between the male and the female, between matter and form, so there is between the body and soul of a man; but what ligament they have, that our Author defineth not; (and peradventure Reason is not able to attaine unto it) yet he telleth us what is the Foundation that this Machine resteth upon, and what keepeth the Parts together, in these words:

And 'twixt them both a Quadrat was the base.

By which Quadrat, I conceive, that he meaneth the four principall humours in mans body, to wit, Choler, Blood, Flegme and Melancholy; which if they be distempered and unfirly mingled, the dissolution of the whole doth ensue; like to a building, which falleth to ruine if the Foundation or Base of it be unsound or disordered: and in some of these the vitall spirits are contained and preserved which the other do keep in a convenient temper; and as long as they do so, the soul and the body dwell together like good friends: So that these four are the Base of the conjunction of the other two; both which hee saith, are

Proportion'd equally by Seven and Nine.

In which words, I understand, that hee meaneth the influences of the superior substances, which govern the interiour into these two differing parts of man, to wit, of the Stars (the most powerfull of which are the seven Planets) into his body; and of the Angels (which are divided into nine Hierarchies or Orders) into the soul, which in his Astrophel he saith, is

By Sovereign choice from the Heavenly Quires select,

And lineally deriv'd from Angels race.

And as much as the one do govern the body, so much the other do the minde: wherein it is to be considered, that some are of opinion, how at the instant of the conception of a child, or rather, more effectually at the instant of his birth, the conceived Sperme, or the tender body doth receive such influence of the heavens as then reigneth over that place where the conception or birth is made; and all the Starrs and virtuall places of the Celestiall Orbs

participating of the qualities of the seven planets; according to the which they are distributed into so many Classes, or the compounds of them, it cometh to passe that according to the variety of the severall aspects of the one and of the other, there are various inclinations and qualities in mens bodies, but all reduced to seven general heads, and the Compounds of them; which being to be varied innumerable waies, causeth as many different effects, yet the influence of some one planet continually predominating: but when the matter in the womans womb is capable of a soule to informe it, then God sendeth one from heaven into it.

————— *Eternal God.*

*In Paradise whilome did plant this flower,
Whence he it fetcht out of her native place,
And did in stock of earthly flesh enrace.*

And this opinion the Author expresseth himself more plainly to be of, in another work, where he saith,

*There Shee beholds with high aspiring thought,
The Cradle of her owne Creation,
Amongst the seats of Angels, heavenly wrought.*

Which whether it hath been created ever since the beginning of the world, and reserved in some fit place until due time, or be created upon the Emergent, occasion no man can tell; but certaine it is, that it is immortal, according to that I said when I spake of the Circle, which hath no ending, and an uncertaine beginning.

The messengers to convey which soule into the body, are the Intelligences that move the Orbs of heaven, who according to their severall natures do communicate unto it severall proprieties, and they who are governors of those Stars that have at that instant, the superiority in the Planetary aspects; whereby it cometh to passe that in all inclinations, there is much affinity betweene the soule and the body, being that the like is between the Intelligences and the Stars, both which communicate their vertues to each of them. And these Angels being, as I said before, of nine severall Hierarchies, there are so many principal differences in humane souls, which doe participate most of their proprieties with whom in their descent they make longest stay, and that had most active power to work upon them, and accompanied them with a peculiar *Genius*; which is according to their severall governments like the same kind of water that running through various conduits, wherein severall aromatical and odoriferous things are laid, doth acquire severall kinds of taste and smells; for it is supposed,

sed, that in their first Creation all soules are alike, and that their differing proprieties arrive unto them afterwards, when they passe through the spheres of the governing Intelligences, so that by such their influence it may truly be said,

Nine was the Circle set in heavens place.

Which verse by assigning his office to the nine, and the proper place of the Circle, doth give much light to what is said before.

And for further confirmation that this is the Authors opinion, read attentively the sixth Canto of the third booke, where most learnedly and at large, he delivereth the Tenets of this Philosophy; and of that, I recommend to you to take particular notice of the second, and thirty second Stanzaes, and also of the last stasse of his *Epithalamium*; and surveying his workes, you shall find him a constant disciple of *Plato's* School.

All which compacted, made a goodly Diapase.

In nature there is not to be found a more complete and more excellent concordance of all parts, then that which is betweene the compacting and uniting together of the body and soul of man, both which although they consist of many and most differing faculties and parts, yet when they keepe due time with one another, do altogether make the most perfect harmony that can be imagined; and as the nature of sounds, (that consist of friendly consonants and accords) is to mingle with one another, and to slide into the eare with much sweetnesse, where by their unity they last a long time, and delight it; whereas on the contrary side, discords do continually jar, and fight together, and wil not mingle with one another, but all of them striving to have the victorie, their fluctuation and disorder giveth a soone end to their sounds, which strike the eare in a harsh and offensive manner, and they die in the very beginning of their conflict. In like sort, when a mans actions are regular, and that being directed towards God, they become like the lines of a Circle which all meet in the Center, then his musick is excellent and compleat, and all together are the Authors of that blessed harmony which maketh him happy in the glorious vision of Gods perfections, wherein the mind is filled with high knowledges and most pleasing contemplations, and the senses are as it were drowned with eternal delight; and nothing can interrupt this joy, this happinesse which is an everlasting Diapase: whereas on the contrary part, if a mans actions be disorderly and consisting of discord, which is when the sensitive part rebelleth and wraastleth with the rational, and striveth to oppresse it, then this Musick is spoiled and instead of eternal life, pleasure, and joy, it causeth perpetuall

death, horror, paine, and misery, which unfortunate estate the Poet describeth elsewhere, as in the conclusion of this stasse he intimateth. The other happy one, which is the never failing reward of such an obedient body, and etherial and vertuous mind, as he maketh to be the seat of the bright Virgin *Alma*, mans worthiest inhabitant, Reason; her I feele to speak within me, and to chide me for my bold attempt, warning me to stray no further: for what I have said, (considering how weakly it is said) your Commandment is all that I can pretend in excuse; but since my desire to obey may as well be seene in a few lines, as in a large discourse, it were indiscretion in me to trouble you with more words, and to discover unto you more of my ignorance. I wil only beg pardon of you for this blotted and interlyned paper, whose contents are so meane, that it cann ot deserve the pains of a transcription, which if you make difficultie to grant unto it for my sake, let it obtaine it for having beene yours, and now returning againe to you, as also doth the booke that containeth my text which yesterday you sent me, to fit this part of it with a Comment: which peradventure I might have performed better, if either I had afforded my selfe more time, or had had the convenience of some other books apt to quicken my invention, to whom I might have been beholding, for enlarging my understanding in some things that are treated here, although the application should stil have been my own; with these two helps, peradventure I might have dived farther into the Authors intention, the depth of which cannot be founded by any that is lesse learned then he was. But I perswade my selfe very strongly, that in what I have said, there is nothing contradictorie to it; and that an intelligent and well read man, proceeding upon my grounds, might compose a worthy and true Commentary upon this Theame; upon which, I wonder how I stumbled, considering how many learned men have failed in the interpreting of it, and have all approved my opinion at the first hearing it: but it was fortune that made me to light upon it, when first this Stanza was read unto me for an undissoluble riddle: and the same discourse that I made upon it, the first halfe quarter of an houre that I saw it, I send it you here, without having reduced it to any better forme, or added any thing at all unto it; which I beseech you receive benignely, as coming from

Your Most affectionate Friend and humble Servant,
Kenhelm Digby.

Master Gargrave to the Lord Davers.

MY very good Lord, I have heretofore many times both sent and written to you touching the insupportable burden of wrong which hath many years laine upon my shoulders, but you were not pleased to returne me any answer for my satisfaction therein : my opinion at the first, was, that it was meerly the respect of some, whom you would not, or might not offend, that you suffered your name to be used by others to wound and afflict me in my estate: to which so fair an opinion, I was induced partly by ancient Judgment of your honourable disposition, partly and much rather by the privity of my heart, which ever constantly affected a good correspondency with you every way. But since now this oppression which I suffer, hath had its continuance so many years without relaxation, in which I smart beyond all example, and the admiration of the world hath concurred with my sense of so great a bitternesse from so neere Allies; I cannot but to my griefe and wonder observe your too much either consent or connivency to these my harms, which before I have not easily suffered my thoughts to admit; wherein if I have not mistaken your Lordships interest, I have yet conceived hope, that although you had in the beginning a just ground to make me feeble the weight of your displeasure and alienation from me, yet that the sufferance of so many years, and such a sufferance under pretence of Justice, as can hardly be parallell'd, might yet at the last, have satiated a very deeply intended revenge, much more satisfied a moderate mind possessed with Honour or Religion, as I conceive your Lordships to be. Herein, after a various agitation in my selfe, I am enforced to honour the wonderful providence of God, who hath pleased to convert the affinity which I affected with your Noble house, for my comfort and assistance, to my ruine; and that in the bosome of our neereft and dearest friendship, should breed so intestine a hatred, as should tend to the overthrow of my credit, wealth, lands, liberty, house, wife, and children, and all those comforts which should either support or sweeten the life of man.

Wherefore I have adventured after so long silence, to minde your Lordship of this my unfortunate estate, wherein I rather die then live. whereunto I have been so long since precipitated by your Lordships countenance, as I hope, pretended only by the instruments of my mischief to proceede from you; that if now your Lordship shall think is enough that I have so many years, so many waies endured

the

the crosses of so high a nature, and can be induced to affect a reparation, or at least a determination of those injuries which undeservedly have been heaped upon me, I may yet at length conclude this Tragedy of my life past with some comfortable fruit of that love and kindnesse which at the first I aimed at in seeking your Lordships Alliance, and which I endeavoured to deserve for the continuance, and which after so long intermission, I shall think my self happy to enjoy, if so be your Lordship shall out of your charitable consideration think my motion to concur with my desire, that I may not be enforced to advance my complaint further, which I wish may be prevented by this my Exposition, springing from the sense of so great and intolerable a misery wherein I languish every day.

A Declaration of Ferdinand Infanta of Spain. 5 July, 1636.

Unto all those to whom this present Writing shall come, greeting.

FRANCE having contrary to reason and justice moved and maintained War in the States of the Emperor, and of my Lord the King, given extraordinary Succours both of men and money, to their rebellious subjects; procured the Swedes to invade the Empire. received and bought of them the Towns of Alsatia, and other hereditary Countries of our most Royall House, not sparing the Catholick League it self, which had taken Arms for no other end but for the good of Religion. And it being notorious, that the same *France*, (after all these publick and manifest contraventions to the Treaties of Peace) hath finally proceeded to a breach thereof: whereas we rather had cause to denounce the War, in that she hath sent her Armies to over-run the Low Countries, the Dutchie of *Millain*, and other Feoffs of the Empire in *Italy*, and now lately the Country of *Burgundy*; contrary to the Lawes of Neutrality, contrary to the Publick Faith, and contrary to the expresse promises of the Prince of *Conde*: Disguising in the mean time, these attempts and breaches of Faith before all Christendome, with certain weak pretexts and false surmises, contained in divers Declarations, approved in the Parliament of *France*; and accompanying all these unjust proceedings with sundry Insolencies, Calumnies and Contempts of sacred persons. And having also observed, that this so long continence of ours at so manifold injuries hath served to no other purpose, but to make our enemies more audacious and insolent, and that the compassion we have had of *France* hath drawn on the ruine of those whom

whom God had put under the obedience of their Majesties: For these considerations, according to the power which we have received from his Imperiall Majestie, we have commanded our Armies to enter into *France*, with no other purpose then to oblige the King of *France* to come to a good & secure Peace, for removing those impediments, which may hinder this so great a good. And for as much as it principally concerneth *France* to give end to these disorders, we are willing to believe that all the Estates of that Kingdome will contribute not only their remonstrances, but also if need be, their forces to dispose their King to Chastise those who have been the Authors of all these Warrs, which these seven or eight years past have beene in Christendome; and who after they have provoked and assayed all their neighbours, have brought upon *France* all those evils which she doth now suffer, and draw on her those other which do now threaten her. And although we are well informed of the weaknesse and devisions, into which these great disorders and evil counsels have cast her; yet we declare, that the intentions of their Majesties, are not to serve themselves of this occasion to ruine her, or to draw from thence any other profit, then by that means to work a Peace in Christendom, which may be stable and permanent.

For these reasons, and withal to shew what Estimation their Majesties do make of the prayers of the Queene Mother of the most Christian King, wee doe give to understand, that we wil protect and treat as friends all those of the *French* Nation, who either joyntly or severally shall second these our good designes; and have given Order that Neutrality shal be held with those of the Nobility, and with the Townes which shal desire it, and which shal refuse to assist those who shal oppose the good of Christendome, and their own safety; against whom shall be used all manner of hostility, without giving quarter to their persons, or sparing either their houses or goods. And our further wil is, that all men take notice that it is the resolution of their Majesties not to lay down Arms, til the Queene Mother of the most Christian King be satisfied and contented, til the Princes, unjustly driven out of their estates, be restored; & til they see the assurances of peace more certain then to be disturbed by him who hath violated the treaties of *Ratisbone*, & others made before, and since he hath had the managing of the affairs of *France*. Neither do we pretend to draw any other advantage from the good successe, which it shal please God to give unto our just prosecutions, then to preserve & augment the Catholick Religion, to pacifie *Europe*, to relieve the oppressed, and to restore to every one that which of right belongeth unto him.

*Given at Ments, the fifth
of July. 1636.*

FINIS.



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FINIS.

THE NVPTIALLS OF
P E L E V S
AND
T H E T I S.
CONSISTING OF A
Mask and a Comedy,
OR THE
The Great Royall Ball,

Acted lately in *Paris* six times

BY

The King in Person.

The Duke of *Anjou*.

The Duke of *Torke*.

with divers other Noble men.

ALSO BY

The Princess Royall *Henrette Marie*.

The Princess of *Conty*.

The Dutchess of *Roquelaure*.

The Dutchess of *Cregny*.

with many other Ladies of Honour.

may. 25

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Herringman*, and are to be sold at his
Shop at the *Anchor* in the lower walke of the New
Exchange. 1654.

THE INSTITUTE OF

P E L L E

AND

T H E

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

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Added hereby



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The Stanzas of the Royall Ball, with the
Argument of every Scene of the Comedy,
which gives occasion to every entry
in the Ball.

THE ARGUMENT.

Peleus King of Theffaly being enamored with
Thetis, and crossed by two potent Rivalles,
Jupiter and Neptune, doth so carry the bu-
siness by the Counsellis of Chiron, and by the
succour of Prometheus, that both the Gods
are at the end excluded of their pretensions;
Neptune desists by reason of his old age, and
Jupiter being the elder of the two, but much more considerable,
doth voluntarily renounce his interest. Whereupon Thetis being
plainely perswaded of the constancy, and fidelity of her Lover, gives
her consent to marry him, so the Nuptialls are celebrated with a
great concourse of Gods and Goddesses. Prometheus also having
done good service in the business, and to put a period to his troubles,
is there also present, and brings with him the Liberall and Mecha-
nick Arts which hee had invented; Discord also would faine have
been there, but that she was ashamed to appeare upon the theatre,
having been chac'd out of France, and it had been to no purpose for
her to disturb so ioyfull a meeting.



The Singers.

*Epidan and } Two Rivers
Onochone } of Thessaly.
Jupiter
Neptune
Juno
Mercury
Peleus King of Thessaly
Thetis
Chiron
Prometheus
A Quire of water-Nymphs
A Quire of Syrens & Tritons
A Quire of priests of Man.
A Quire of all the Deities.*

The Dancers.

*Apollo, and the nine Muses.
Magicians.
Fishers of Corall
The Furies of jealousy
Savage men and women.
The Dryads or Wood-
nymphs.
Cavaliers of Thessaly
Chirons Academists
Peleus his Courtiers
Thetis young maids of honor
The Liberall & servile Arts
Love
Juno
Hymen
Hercules
The harmony of the
Sphears.*



TO THE
MOST EXCELLENT,

And HIGH-BORN Lady,

The Lady

KATHERINE

Marchionesse of DORCHESTER, &c.

Madam;



Believe, no discerning Reader will question my *Judgement* in point of *Election*, nor accuse my *Election* of much *presumption* in *Dedicating* this princely new piece to your Ladiship.

Touching the first, the Fancy comming from that *Country* which doth challenge as much Interest in your *Illustrious* blood as *England*, I humbly conceived it might well become your Ladiship to be Patroneſſe thereof.

Touching the second reason, it having been not onely *Represented*, but *Acted* so many times (and reserv'd yet for entertaining *Pimentel* the Spanish

Am-

The Epistle.

Ambassador) by a Great King in person, with such a number of Princes, Princesses, Nobles, and above a hundred Representatives besides, so that the charge of the scene and shewes amounted to half a million of French liures; But above all, it being an invention so cryed up, so well contriv'd and trac'd, so full of wit, and variety of Musickall airs, with other *gentillesse*s; I deem'd it would be a thing not unworthy of your Ladships private entertainment.

Lastly, Madam, the Fancy being so *fresh*, and suitable to the *season*, it comes to usher in a happy and healthfull *spring* to your Honor, attended with affluences of all Felicity present and future, according to the humble and *pregnant* votes of

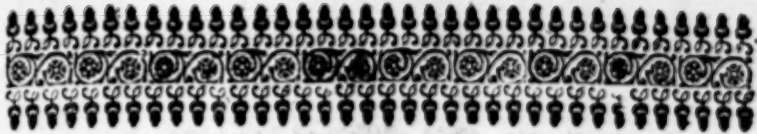
The first of May
1654.

My most Highly Honored Lady,

Your thrice-Obedient and devoted

Servitor

JAM. HOVVEL.



THE PROLOGUE.

*Apollo and the Nine Muses, Epidan and
Onochone Rivers of Thessaly, a
Quire of water-Nymphs.*

AT the opening of the Theater, *Apollo* and the *Muses* appeare upon the top of a Mountaine, on both sides thereof run two Rivers of *Thessaly*, and the water-Nymphs being separated in two Quires, fall into the prayse of *Apollo*, inviting him to come downe and give a happy Augury to the Loves of *Peleus*; The said Mountaine stoopes by little and little, whercupon the Rivers and Nymphs retiring, *Apollo* and the *Muses* fill the Stage, and compose the first entry of the Ball.

The



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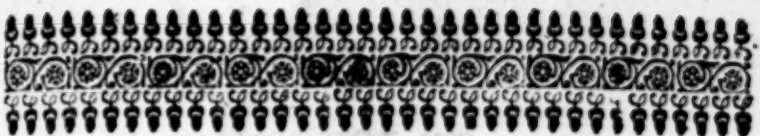
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The





The first Entry.

Apollo and the Nine Muses.

The King represents	<i>Apollo,</i>
<i>Madam Henriette</i> Princessse of England.	<i>Erato,</i>
<i>Madamoisella</i> of <i>Villeroy.</i>	<i>Clio.</i>
The Dutchesse of <i>Crequy</i>	<i>Enterpe.</i>
The Dutchesse of <i>Roquelaure</i>	<i>Thalia.</i>
The Princessse of <i>Conty</i>	<i>Vrania.</i>
<i>Madam de Monlovet</i>	<i>Terpsicore,</i>
<i>Madam de Saint Simon</i>	<i>Calliope.</i>
<i>Madam d'Olonne</i>	<i>Melpomene.</i>
<i>Madamoiselle de Gourdon</i>	<i>Polyhimney.</i>

THE



THE NVPTIALS
Of PELEUS and THETIS;
OR;
The Great Royall Ball.

The King of France representing Apollo.

More bright and better made then all the Gods,
Superior to the rest of Deities by ods,
My Forehead with immortal beams is crown'd,
Victorious beauties I raise from the ground,
I after *Glory* alwaies run,
Not after *Daphne* whom I shun.

That fierce destructive *Python* I did quell,
That ugly horrid *Serpent* hatch'd in Hell,
Rebellion, which had poyson'd farre and neare
Faire *France* I chac'd from off this Hemispheare:
I rather had this *Monster* slay,
Then with my *Daphne* sport and play.

Yet it must be at last, early or late
I must a Femall court, it is my Fate,

And

The Nuptials of

And though I am all God, yet there's a *Shee*,
Whom with love glances I must deifie.

And what Nymph, Goddesse, Queen, or Muse
To be my *Daphne* would refuse.

*N'adam Henriette the Princessse of England, representing
the muse Erato, which fell to her by lott.*

My stemm is more then of a mortall race;
For to great *Henries Granchild* all give place:

My Innocent and young aspect,
Inspires both pitty and respect;
And he who loudly would complain
Of *Princes* falls and *Peoples* raign,
Of angry stars, and destiny,
Let him but cast his eyes on me.

*Madamoiselle de Villeroy representing Clio,
the inventresse of History.*

I turn this charming look
Sometimes to *Doomsday* book;
These eyes, where in his throne
Love sits, make many mone;
My *Rosy* cheeks, my quickening fire,
Madd the beholders with desire:
And though I am but a young thing,
Blown as it were but in this spring;

My office is the *History* to tell
Of what a thousand yeers ago befell:

*Madam the Dutcheess of Crequy, representing Euter-
pe, the inventresse of Musique.*

The *Mouth* of Fame doth tell,
In *Mine* the graces dwell:

So red, so small, Loves Queen
Had not, nor ere was seen;
A hundred beauties more
I have in banke and stores
Yet none esteemes them lesse:
I nature rather blesse
For those inward parts I have,
Which will last me to my Grave.

Though I with musique use to cheer the mind,
Yet in my Pipes no foulness you shall finde.

M. the Dutchesse of Roquelanre, representing Thalia, the inventresse of Comedy.

There is no heart so free
But it will yeeld to me;
I have the true supremacy
Of beauty both in front and eye:
My glances able are for to recover
The sickeft amorist, the palest lover:
My *Comedies*, if that you listen well,
Are able to redeem a soul from hell.

Madame the Princesse of Conty, representing Vrania the inventresse of Astronomy.

The starres in their carree r
Are not so bright and cleer
As is my minde, which bove the Elements
Doth soar to view those high syderian Tents.
This port, this countenance, and eyes
Shew I did drop down from the skyes.
I study their *Aspects* and *Influence*,
Their *Motions*, & what good descends from thence.

The Nuptialls of

*Madam de Momlonet representing Terpsicore
the inventresse of dances and masks.*

If for a mortall I am taken,
You may perchance be there mistaken,
I dart a ray will pierce the heart,
And make the center of it smart:
I carry such a Majesty,
Which represents Divinity:
The graces all in me do dwell,
Contending which shall bear the bell:
I doe preside in *Masks* and *Dances*,
Wounding the looker with my glances,

*M. the Dutchess of San Simon representing Calliope,
the inventresse of Heroick Poesy.*

Beauty a treasure of high rate
Is my companion and my mate;
Of vertues I have such a store,
That could enrich a thousand more:
I raise my spirits to enhance,
(When I am in poetique trance)
By high heroick verse the acts
Of noble Champions and their facts:
The *Sock* I scorn, the *Buskin* me
Doth raise to immortality.

*Madam d' Olonne representing Melpomene,
the inventresse of Tragedy.*

Although my countenance be grave,
Yet pleasure and delights I have:

Peleus and Thetis.

5

I look on *Death* and *Destiny*,
Yet are my straines Divinity :
The passages of vertue I rehearse,
Though in an Elegiack Tragick verse.

*Madamoiselle de Gourdon representing Polhymny,
the inventresse of vocall Musique.*

A hundred objects I do see,
Although at my Nativity
They say I hooded was, my song
Will carry one to heaven along,
The various postures I do show
Will make the Gods themselves to bow;
I am the glory of our hills,
Where joy both heart and spirit fills.

THE FIRST ACT.

*The first Scnee, where appears a Grott
open on both sides.*

Chiron, Peleus, a dumb quire of Magicians.

Chiron adviseth *Peleus* either to abandon love, or not to
close higher hopes; perswading him, that the old age
of his Rivals, might happily give him some assurance, yet
he exhorts him for preventing the violence that *Jupiter*
might perchance offer to *Thetis*, to go upon Mount
Caucasus, and implore the help of *Prometheus*, who with
the fire he stole from heaven, had brought thence all the
great and sublime sorts of knowledge; and *Prometheus*
would be glad to oblige *Peleus* in such an occasion to crosse
the passion of *Jupiter*, who made him endure such cruell

The Nuptials of

torments; *Peleus* approves of *Chirons* counsell, whereupon the Magicians, as they dance, use a charm, carrying him away in a flying chair.

The second Entry.

Magicians.

The Count of *Lude*, the Marquis of *Villequire*, and of *Genlis*, the Lords *Bontemps* and *Cabou*, the Lords *Verbec*, *Baptista*, and *Lambert*.

The Count of Lude representing a Magician.

Let my heart go loose more then to one,
If I do love but three, I leasure have
To sell love by retale;
I cry, I sigh, and ready am to hang,
Yet then I vanish in the height of passion.

The Marquis of Villequier representing a Magician.

The beauty which me charmes is like the spring;
wee ought to love each other, she is fierce, and so am I.
A young forcereffe may well become a Magician of
twenty years.

The Marquis of Genlis representing a Musician.

Who can make scruple of my art and skill,
My reasons in due time have Energie enough;
If I look fair in any part,
I't not a trick of Magique Art?

The second Scene, which opens within a perspective where a Sea is seen.

*Thetis, Neptune, a Quire of Syrens, and Tritons, a Quire
of dumb Fishers for Corrall.*

Thetis

Thetis appears upon a great shell attended by a halfe De-my water God, being encompassed by a fair troop of Corral Fishers; On the other side *Neptune* appears upon another great shell drawn by four Sea horses, and begins to vent his passion to *Thetis*; but when he perceives that she despiseth him, he suddenly leaves her, and retires with all his train in choler, and striking the Sea with his Trident, he rais'd such a horrible tempest, that *Thetis* with all her Corral Fishers was forced to descend, who being very joyfull to escape the storm, make a dance among themselves to cheer and entertain her with delight:

The third Entry.

A half Sea-God leading Thetis attended by twelve Fishers of Corral.

Mounſieur the Count of St. *Aignan* prime Gentleman of the Kings Chamber, is the half Sea-God.

The Fishers of Corral.

The Duke of *Anjou* the Kings only brother, the Duke of *York*, the Duke *Darville*, the Count *de G'riche*, the little Count of *Aignan*, the Marquis of *Mirepoix*, Mounſieur *Saintot*, Mounſieur *de la Chesnay*, the Lord *Bruneau*, S. Fre. L' *Anglois*, and *Raynal*.

The Count Saint Aignan representing a demy Sea-God, begins.

I have enhanc'd my gallantries so high,
That *Neptunes* Court is glorified thereby.
They equall the exploits of *Paladins*,
Whose fame the Earth with *Ecchos* dims,
What a poor thing it is to be
A Demy-God by land or Sea?

Yet

The Nuptials of

Yet I am one, I'de have it known,
 It is no stain but a renown,
 In the fair field of love for to be so
 Where joy & sadness, flowers and weeds do grow :
 And for the water-Nymphs none can expresse
 Better then I whether th'are fish or flesh.

A Madrigall.

With a Nymph both fair and cruell;
 The Fates have call'd me to a Duell
 My torments endlesse are, my brest
 with the Sea surges have like rest.

The Duke of Anjou representing a Fisherman.

1. In my fine hooks ther's danger, then beware
 I am a fairer Fisherman by far,
 Then love himself my hook and line
 Can catch a creature though Divine.
2. Husbands their cares do double, lest one day
 I fish within their ponds and catch the prey,
 So subtile is my wit, that none can see
 Where I do fish those things which flow from me.
3. I will launce out when Age improves my flanks,
 In the mean time I keep upon the banks
 For corall on Vermilian lipps I fish,
 And who will hinder me to have my wish?

The Duke of Yorke representing a Fisherman.

T'is not for me to fish for Corall here,
 I to another Coast my course must steer,
 A fatall ground
 Which Seas surround.
 There I must fish upon an angry Main,
 More then two Crowns and Scepters to regain.

The

*The Duke Damville representing a Fisherman
for Corral.*

I have the same bait, hook and line
I had when I could scarce tell nine,
A few there are
Though nere so fair,
If I am set
Can 'scape my flaxen net.

The Count of Guiche representing a Fisherman.

Upon the side of a still peacefull pond
I use to fish, and dare not go beyond;
The time will come that I may also seek
The Rivers Banks, and happily a Sea-creek.

The little Count of Aignon representing a Fisherman.

As streight and slender as a rush
I use to cast my line, and push
It on, but I do onely catch
Small things, I cannot yet attach
Great wel-grown fishes, one might make
Good cheer with those I cannot take.

The Marquis of Mirepoix representing a Fisherman.

Of this sweet Trade of Fishing I intend
To be one day a Master, and so mend
My fortunes, now, the greatest skill
Of a true Fisherman is to be still,
And patient for a while, to make no hast
So he may compasse well his ends at last.

The third Scene.

Thetis, Jupiter, Juno, a dumb Quire of the Furies of Jealousie.
Jupiter being encompassed with pomp and Majesty, descends

scends from the Air in midst of a great cloud, and propounds to *Thetis* all the tender & passionate things which might oblige her to be his spouse; but shee refuseth this honor out of high respects she ow'd to *Juno*, who had been so carefull of her Education; whereupon *Jupiter* was upon point of carrying her away; but as he was wrapping her within the cloud wherein he descended, *Juno* comes in a whirlwind not so violent as her rage; And after a loud fit of scolding, having brought the furies along with her, the earth open'd and disgorgeth a huge horrid Monster; At sight hereof *Jupiter* letting go his prey, and putting off his design till a more convenient time, returns to Heaven.

In the mean time the Furies extreamly well pleased to have so opportunely done such a piece of service to *Juno*, dance all before her, whereupon the goddesse *Juno* having thanked *Thetis* for her vertuous resistance, takes the furies up with her in the same whirlwind which brought her down to persecute *Jupiter* in his repose, and in his glory.

The fourth Entry.

The King, the Duke of *Loyeuse*, the Marquis of *Genlis*, Mounseieur *Bontemps*, the Lords de *Lorge*, *Verpre*, *Beauchamp*, *Mollier*, le *Vacher*, *Desjairs*, *Dolmest*, *Baptiste*.

For the King representing a fury.

Spain, fly from this yong fury, fly away,
She comes to daunt thee, and with torch in hand
Through every corner she doth force her way,
To find thee out, 'gainst her thou canst not stand.

She persecutes the bad, and makes them read
Their guilt within their looks, nay, the same time
They mischief work, and do commit the crime,
She glides into the Conscience fear and dread.

The

The Duke of Joyense representing a Fury.

Believe me not, to trust in me forbear,
A fained sweetnesse on my front I wear,
Of me there may be some mistakes,
for I do hide my claws and snakes.

*The Marquis of Genlis representing
another Fury.*

My face is lovely, sweet and debonnair,
Such as an honest Fury ought to bear.
My heart some poyson may contain,
Yet serpents lodge not in my brain.

THE SECOND ACT.

The first Scene.

Which represents the top of Caucasus.

Prometheus, Peleus, a Quire of dumb men, and
savage Women.

Peleus being conducted by savage men and women,
meets with *Prometheus* upon a Rock with his Eagle
which gnawes upon his heart, and having made a light
comparison of their torments, *Prometheus* assures him that
the Oracle of *Delphos* had foretold that *Thetis* should bear a
son greater then his Father; and that *Jupiter* also without
doubt should be constrained to renounce his pretention,
and that *Mercury* having been sent in his behalf to *Jupiter*,
to acquaint him with the saying of the Oracle, the busi-
nesse should end to his contentment: *Peleus* hereupon re-
turnes to *Thetis* extreamly comforted, and the savages
upon hopes that *Prometheus* should be freed from his tor-
ment,

ment, and that *Peless* should obtain his hearts desire, could not more lively expresse their joy then by a dance.

The fifth Entry.

The Lords of Chesnay, and Joyeux, the Lords la Marre, Monglas, Laleu, Raynall, Rod-dier, all Savages.

Wee value beautilous cheeks, and how
They must be used we also know,
Nor such rude savages are we,
But civiliz'd we soon may be.

The second Scene.

Which discovers a place of Gold and stones.

Jupiter, Mercury, a dumb Quire of Wood-Nymphs.

Jupiter meets with *Mercury* in this fair Palace which he had caus'd to be prepar'd in the secret place about *Caucasus*, to celebrate his Nuptials there without the knowledge of *Iuno*, and devising the means how to conduct thither the new spouse; *Mercury* gave him notice what the Oracle had said; *Jupiter* being therewith surpriz'd, and fearing that the same distaster might befall him there, which had happen'd 'twixt him and *Saturn*, makes love to yield to ambition, and retires to Heaven after he had commanded *Mercury* to make it known that he would think on't no more, nor do an act so injurious to his Authority; the *Dryades* being Land-Nymphs, fell to be jealous of the good fortune of *Thetis* a Sea-goddesse, being there as spies to give account to *Juno* of all the purposes of *Jupiter*, and they expresse by a dance the joy they conceived that *Jupiter* had altered his resolutions.

The

The sixth entry.

Dryades or wood-Nymphs.

The King, the Dukes of *Joyeuse*, and of *Raquelaure*, the Marquis of *Genlis*, Mounfier *Bontemps*, the Lords of *Lorges*, *Desais*, *le Vaisier*, *Verpre*, *Beauchamp*, *Molier*, *D'Olivet*.

For the King representing a Dryade.

1. A Nymph as great as generous,
In Oaks as green as pretious

I lead a happy traine:

My youthfull branches taper so,
As if to heaven they would grow;

And starres salute would faine:

They spread and shoot so bravely out, that they
The glory of their root will not betray.

2. By their rind you well may know

With what strength and sap these grow,
and whence it springs.

They may befit *Cæsars* to make,

Or *Alexanders* for to shake,

with thousand earthly Kings.

3. About this proud and Royall Tree

Others do grow, but modestly

They creepe more humble then the grasse,

So that one day 'twil come to passe,

This Tree of Heaven may be made

Unto the *European* world a shade.

The Duke of Joyeuse representing another

Wood-Nymph.

While the seasons, rude and cold,

I wonder none with me makes bold

The Nuptiallsof

My wood hath this rare quality, it shall
Burn, warme, and make no noyse at all.

*The Duke of Roquelaure representing
also a Dryade.*

1. Some hold me for a merry wench,
And that I care not much for Continence,
I am the greatest babler I confesse,
And imitate *Vergonda* by my tresse.
2. There is no Forrest but doth feel
The strokes of my victorious steel,
As soone as I doe haunt a copsof wood,
To bring the Axe among them were as good.
3. I have my vanities, besides my Age
By right of Impudence sometimes doth rage,
And if a Tree cleffed may chance,
They presently impute the cause to me.
4. But to conclude, sweet Nymphs, my pleasures shall
Never hurt yours, therefore doubt not at all;
To my beloved trunk ile so adhere,
That for to injure others none shall feare.

*The Marriage of Genlis representing
the last Dryade.*

Within the bottom of a Grove
A Satyre thereabouts did rove,
Who held my honor at a bay,
But hard it was for to display
Whether a reall *Satyre*, or one clad
Like Satyres, or indeed a true *Dryad*.

The

The Third Scene.

*Which represents a Theater, and at the end of a
prospectivc, a Statue of God Mars.*

*A Quire of Mars his Pri- sts, with another dumb
Quire of Thessalian Knights.*

The Cavaliers of the Principall City of *Thessalia* being afflicted for the cruelty of *Thetis* against *Peleus* their Monarch, do bring in a combat at Barriers to the honor of *Mars*: in the mean time they offered sacrifices on the other side to the same God, with supplications, that he would imploy his credit with *Venus* for the returne of *Peleus*, and for mollifying the heart of *Thetis*; At this same time the Statue of *Mars* having spoken and foretold all good auguries, the Knights quit their armes and dance.

The seventh Entry.

A combat at Barriers by the Knights of Thessaly.

The Count of Saint *Aignan* } M. *Beaufort* chiefe of the
chiefe of the Defendants. } Appellants.

Defendants	{	Young <i>Beaufort</i> ,	{	Appellants	{	<i>Garnard</i> ,
		<i>San Maury</i> ,				<i>Clinchant</i> ,
		<i>Desens</i> ,				<i>Ourdanls</i> ,
		<i>Derville</i> .				<i>De Hallus</i> .

*For the Count Sant Aignan representing a
Thessalian Knight.*

Attend me Lawrells, this combat's made
To gain the glory of those irons which hold
Me captive, therefore I must be more bold
Then any, and employ my trusty blade.

What force can lance or sword
Against me then afford ?

THE THIRD ACT.

First Scene.

Which represents the portall of Thetis Palace.

Peleus, Chiron, a Quire of Chiron's Academists.

P*eleus* being returned from *Caucasus*, and living with *Chiron*, doth resolve by his advises to present himselfe to *Thetis*, and to make his addresse to her with amorous patheticall prayers, which he might do the more confidently by reason of *Jupiter's* declaration, wherein hee resolved not to think any more on her; The Disciples of the said *Chiron*, the inventor and Master of many differing professions frame a dance to expresse the joy they conceived for the return of *Peleus*.

The eight Entry.

Chiron making his Academy to dance for the entertainment of Peleus.

Mounseur Hesselin Master of *Chirons* Academists.
The Academists habited like Indians.

The King,

The Lords *Saintot*, *Bon'emps*, and *Calou*, the Lords *Mollier*, *Bruneau*, *Langluis*, *Beaucham*, *le Vacher*, *Baptiste*, *D'Olvet*, and *de Lorges*.

Chiron the Centaure who was to be represented by
Mounseur Hesselin.

Be not my friends at all astonished
To see a man onely for back and head,

He

He happy is who is a beast
Backward, and not above the brest.

I find no incommodity
That I am such a prodigy,
Half a man somtimes may need
Half a horse for better speed.

When I have moraliz'd by sense,
(Within my cell) neat and distinct
Unto the stable, I withdraw me thence,
From *Reason* taking pleasure in *instinct*.

*The Master of the Academy represented by
Master Hesselin.*

If that my pride appear, I reason have,
For I instruct all gallant men and brave,
Lucre makes me not mercenary,
But I do teach all frank and free,
If'mong my schollers * one be pleas'd to pay, [King.]
I can afford the rest a good long day.

For the King representing an Academist.

This young Academist doth learn so well
His part, that all therest he doth excel;
His present (and his future) Grandeur show
All mortall his high vertues are below.
This Master piece to perfect, it seems that
Fortune with Nature did cooperate.

The Bodies exercise is his delight
Against his own in many an eager fight;
He beaten hath the iron, and made them fly
A fair presage of future victory
He greater things prepares; And *Spain* shall find
How dextrous he will prove in every kind.

Hec

The Nuptials of

He cannot broke any should him exceed,
 Whether he runnes, or leaps, or mounts the Steed,
 In dancing neatly none surpasse him shall,
 The world admires him, only the Ladies are
 Wary, nor dare they what they thinke declare.

The second Scene

*Thetis, Peleus, a dumb quire of Peleus Courtiers,
 and the little Maids of honor of Thetis Court.*

Peleus doth all he can to gain the good grace of *Thetis*, but she continues still in the same rigor, and as *Proteus* daughter, takes advantage of the priviledge of her birth to deceive *Peleus* by various shapes, yet he faints not in the pursuit, but begins to adde boldnesse to affection: at last *Thetis* transformes her selfe to a Rock, which *Peleus* embraceth, and protesteth to perish rather then forsake her; at this last proof of Constancy and love, *Thetis* yeelds, and accepts him for her husband; hereupon all *Peleus* Court falls into an excesss of gladnesse, which makes the Courtiers to fall a dancing.

The ninth entry.

Courtiers.

The Duke of Candale, the Marquis of Villequier, and of
 Genlis the Count.

For the King who should have represented a Courtier.

This youthfull Courtier hath so high a look,
 As if for some great King himselfe he took,
 He's forward, bold, and cannot be alone,
 Nothing doth please him more then to come on:
 He sure will something do:
 The

The charge we see he hath is honourable,
And for his age very considerable,
Some lofty spirits would be glad with lesse,
But he doth farre more glorious things professe,
Sure he will something do.

He ordinary titles doth excell,
He would do better, though he now doth well,
Had he no proceffe with a neer ally,
Which yet doth set an edge on Majesty,
Sure he will something do

The Duke of Candale, representing a Courtier.

The Court would not so splendid be and brave,
Were I not there, nor halfe that lustre have:
We are the 'ffects of one another,
We laugh, and play and sport together,
The *Courtier* may do *Fortune* a good turne
As well as she to him: —————

*The Marquis of Villequier, representing
another Courtier.*

Fortune and *Love* are two odd things,
The one is blinde, to'ther hath Wings,
It is a tedious task and doubtfull gain
The true good-will of either to obtain;
For me, I like the lover, who doth go
By way of storming, and ends quickly so.
I will not knock too long at one hearts dore,
Left in the mean time I lose hundreds more.

*The Marquis of Genlis representing a
Courtier also.*

In the Court a number te ds
To divers projects, divers ends,

The Nuptials of

All opposed to one another,
The sisters oft do cross the brother,
Touching my selfe, I hope to expedit
My businesse by my charming face and witt.

The last Scene.

Thetis, Peleus, a quier of all the Deities, Prometheus, a dumb quier of loves, Hercules, Hymen, Juno, dumb personages, a so a dumb quier of the Liberall and Mechanick Arts, a Cestrell Harmony.

Thetis and Peleus appear, being seated upon a high Throne, whereof the upper part changeth to a prospective of the Firmament where the loves are seated; and the other part of the Scene formeth it selfe into a Cloud, athwart whereof all the Dieties do glitter, being invited to the Marriage: Hercules brings with him Prometheus freed by Jupiters order; in the mean time, Juno and Hymen accompanied by the intelligences that compose the Celestiall Harmony, descending in a great engine, all which being joyned to the Liberall and Mechanick Arts, which were the invention of Prometheus who conducted them thither, a great dance is formed on earth below, while the little loves make another in the heavens above at the same time.

The last entry.

The liberall Arts.

Madam de Brancas, Mademoiselle de Mancini, Mademoiselle de Mortismart, Mademoiselle de la Riviere Bonnevill, Mademoiselle de Forvilloux, Mademoiselle Destree, Mademoiselle de la loupe.

Madam Brancas represents Geometry.

I trace the earth all over by account,
As farre as Pindus or Parnassus Mount;

Cannot

I *Corinth* view, where every one
Cannot arrive, 'tis I alone

Who can by Land-skips, Mapps, and Instruments,
Measure all Regions, and their vast extents.

Mademoiselle Mancini, representing Musique.

In me a comely spritfull grace,
Makes *Vnions* throughout my face:

A charming harmony

Moves betwixt lips and eye:

Sometimes I melt, bring sadnesses and smarts,
Which shews I am not welcome to all hearts.

Mademoiselle de mortmart, representing Logique.

My youth, my hue, my eyes do prove,
The strongest *Reason* in the School of Love

Is Beauty, 'twill convince the most austere,
And make a Fool of a Philosopher:

I pray let this serve for an argument,

I merit on *Parnassus* Hill a Tent.

Mademoiselle d' Estre, representing Astronomy.

My mind is not so mussled 'mong the clouds,

But I can know the causes which by crouds

Puzzleus here below; the starres when I

Was born, did smile at my Nativity,

The Heavens did powre their graces in such store,

That ever since it makes me them adore.

Madamoiselle delle Rivere Bonnewill represents Grammar.

Though young and innocent, I have some fitts
Of the Green sicknesse, yet I well may fit
Among these sisters, to my *A. B. C.*
Ther's not an Art but 'tis an obligee:

The ground-work I do lay, cut out, and trace,
Therefore on *Phocis* Hill let me have place.

Madam de Fovilloux representing Rhetorick.

I usefull am at Court, Hearts will not yield
I snatch away, and so do winne the field,
I conquer with my tongue which I do file,
When I a charming beauty would beguile.

*Madamoiselle de la Loupe representing
Arithmetick.*

My youthfull charms make many hearts
With grones, and fighes, and sobs to smart
Beyond *computing*, yet could I
To *number* them my selfe apply,
But that thereof I make a smal account,
They to so many *Cyphers* do amount.

Madam de Commenge representing Iuno.

Having immortall beauty in my face,
Where roses bloom, and Lillies still have place,
What reason is there I should jealous be?
poor Mortalls be not so deceiv'd in me:
I jealousy do scorn with foul disdain,
I'll neither give nor take it, 'tis a grain

Of curfed, seed that naturally doth bear
A dry black leaf, which will the heart strings teare.

Hymen represented by the Duke of Ioyeuse.

I am as serious, as *Cupid* is a sot,
I turn his flames to vertue every jot,
Madam *de Puy* knowes well no Blonden is
So frequent with *chast* maids though full of wish.

The Duke Damville representing Hercules.

In the behalf of *Love* whose pleasing bait,
Have done me such good offices and bad,
I must begin my *Labours*, and go clad
On *Venus* shrine, and Altars for to wait;
I find my veines and passions all as hot
My heart as vigorous as 'twas at first,
Ther's nothing in me that's decay'd a jot,
For glory also I ne're more did thirst:
Only my feet are not so quick, as when
I deceive did my host, and may agen.

The Mechanique Arts.

The King represents
The Count St. *Aignan*
De Verpre
De Lorges
Le Vacher
Beauchamp
D'olivret

Warre,
Agriculture ,
Navigation,
Hunting,
a Goldsmith,
a Painter,
Chirurgery.

The King representing Warre.

Peace, sure thou'lt come at last so much desir'd,
Who hast to heaven thy self so long retir'd
And we must be
Thankfull to Warre for thee.

Behold she comes, and she to me is sent
 To make me have a timely sentiment
 Of *Eurpes* dolefull case, lo, she doth bring
 Lawrels & palms, fit presents for a King.

Ye charming Femals, from your eyes
 It is, that warrs and tumults rise
 You dart the thunderbolts of strife,
 You have your trumpets, drum and fife,
Venus we know is *Mars* his wife.

The Count Saint Aignan represents Agriculture or Husbandry.

By toying much both night and day
 In *Mars* his field, & *Venus* dales,
 I glory have obtain'd, they say,
 Having still propitious gales;
 I have got Laurels, but the bloom
 Is pass'd, the fruit is not yet come.

A Quire of Loves.

The Duke of *Anjou* the Kings brother, the Count of
Guiche, the Marquis of *Villeroy*, the little Count of *Saint*
Aignan, little *Rassent* page of the Chamber, *Laleu*, *Do-*
nant and *Aubry*.

For Mounseur, representing the first Love.

Ladies, from this tender spray
 There may some danger come one day,
 Ye with caresses flatter him, he you,
 Ye kiss, & hugg him, but you'll find it true,
 It is a Lions cubb which you do stroke,
 Who with his paw in time may make you smoke.

He

He sports with you, he smiles and mocks,
 Playes with your jewells, fancies, locks,
 But take yee heed, for he at length
 Will gather more encrease of strength;
 Yet, I foresee he will wean quite
 Himself from all such soft delight;
 And marching in the steps of his great fires
 Make *Glory* the sole *Queen* of his desires.

*The Count of Guyche representing
 another love.*

All those Loves I do behold
 Brighter then the burnish'd gold,
 Are nothing if compar'd with me,
 Whether Fire, or Light they be,
 I do discover in effect
 I am all love, when I reflect
 upon my self-----

*The Marquis of Villeroy representing
 another Love.*

I peep to hear what lovers say,
 When they whisper sport or play;
 And sometimes lay
 Traps in their way.

*For the little Count of Saint Aignan represen-
 ting another Love.*

If hee be as discreet as is his mother,
 He will neglect the love of any other,
 But if the father he be like unto,
 He mistresses will have & Beauties wooe.

*For little Rassent representing another
Love.*

Our talents are diversified,
Each one hath his perfections aside;

For me,

Till I have wings, 'tis meet
I fence my self with feet.

FINIS.

15
THE
NUPTIALS
OF
PELEUS
AND
THETIS.

A NEW
ITALIAN COMEDY,

Whence the preceding MASK
was extracted;

Made English by a nearer adherence to the
Original, then to the *French*
TRANSLATION.

Non seria semper.



May.



The PROLOGUE.

*Apollo and the Muses upon the Pierian Mount ;
Quires of Water-Nymphs upon the Banks of Epi-
dano and Onochono, Rivers of Thessaly.*

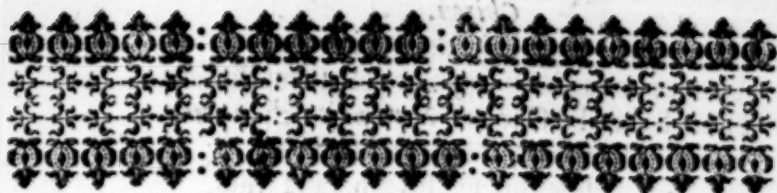
The NYMPHS to APOLLO.

O *Living Treasure of the glorious Sky,
Who by thy piercing all surveying eye
Dost in thy golden Armor conquer Night,
And so in triumph usher'st in the Light :*

*Among the glittering Stars thou dost not shine
With greater Lustre, then amongst the nine
Aonian Sisters: O descend and daign,
Great God, (leaving a while Olympian Raign)
To feast with us: a joyful Augury
Vouchsafe to Peleus passions, whose pure brest
May justly merit Hymen for his guest.*

*To the eternal Lawes of Love,
The highest Gods and Saints above
Are Subject: Monarchies and Scepters yeild:
To Love, and crown him Victor in the field:*

ACT



ACT I. SCENE I.

Chiron, Peleus, A Quire of dumb Magicians.

Chiron.

Hy do you thus your self torment ?

Peleus.

Chiron, How shall I find content ?

Chiron.

Pursue your hopes, and onward go.

Peleus.



Is't possible I should do so ?

When on my heart a beauty lies
That is descended from the Skies ;
A beauty that's all moving and immense,
That hath o're me such an omnipotence ?

Moreover, I two Rivals have,
No less then Gods, who me outbrave
For *Neptune* with his Trident, and great *Jove*;
Are my competitors for *Thetis* love.

Chiron.

Peleus, Why do you thus your self torment ?

Peleus.

Chiron, Where is it I should find content ?

Chiron.

Then follow your fair hopes, and onward go.

Peleus.

How is it possible I should do so ?

Chiron.

The Comedy to the Mask.

Chiron.

Listen to me, gray hairs do but in vain
Attempt young beauties, they will them disdain
Though they be Gods: *Neptune* is rich in years
As well as *Treasure*, *Thetis* will him jeer.
For *Jove*, besides his age, his rapes and wiles,
How he so many Ladies did beguile
Will make her shun him: but if you desire
To compass your designs, and quench your fire,
Behold those *Magies* that with charmed flight
Will guide you safely to *Prometheus* sight,
Who being bold and wise, is th'only man
Who in this Enterprize you pleasure can:
He is no friend to *Jove*, who him torments
With such eternal pangs, therefore he will,
To help you, exercise his utmost skill.
Wherefore take my advice, and hence away
To *India*, through the air cut out your way.

Delay is alwayes dangerous to Lovers,

He ne're obtain'd his ends who hums and hovers.

Peleus.

This Aiery journey I will undertake,
But though herein *Fortune* my friend I make
Yet are my hopes but smal, I have a hint,
That *Thetis*'s cruel, and her heart is flint.

Chiron.

When modest beauties to excuses fall,
You must not presently it rigor call.
The heart oft-times desires what lips deny,
For a huge distance doth betwixt them lye.

Peleus.

Could it unto my Love-sick thoughts appear
That what you say hereto is true and clear,
Those pangs I suffer in my breast
Would turn to ease, delight and rest.
But fall what will my fate portends,
I still will glory in my ends,

Which

The Comedy to the Mask.

3

Which an unmeasurable joy distils,
And my so high-swoln heart with comfort fills.

Chiron, Pelcus.

Let a true Lover never lose
His hope or courage when he woos:
The more his suff'rance is, the more
Sweetness is kept for him in store.
In *Cupids* gentle kingdom nothing is
Impossible, but one may gain his wish.

Chiron.

Go on then happily, for who doth know
But that your constancy may tell you so?

Pelcus.

On, on, then to my Magies I will go.

The Second Scene.

Thetis, Neptune, a Quire of Tritons, and Mermaids, with a Quire of Corral-Fishers.

The Quire of Tritons and Mermaids.

At such a splendid glorious show,
What heart but would turn fire and tow?
A Pomp so rare, a sight so fair,
Is able to perfume the air:

Nor Morn nor Sun did ever view
So bright and ravishing a hue.

At such a splendid glorious show,
What heart but would turn fire and tow?

Neptune.

There is no fence I find,
Love will invade my mind.
In these moist fields my Rivers run in vain,
To quench my fire, or tepid my pain;
Though I in midst of waters lye,
Yet do I melt, dissolve and fry;
But *Thetis*, you at last will find it true,
To be more fool unto your self, then you

Are

Are cruel *unto* me. Will you refuse
 The richest of the Gods, Him who doth use
 To give those gems that beauties do adorn,
 Thence, where the Queen of Love her self was born?

Thetis:

Aurora commonly doth rise
 Cheerful and smiling to our eyes
 But suddenly we oftentimes do see,
 She falls a weeping upon flower and tree.
 If you desire the cause I should unfold,
 It is because her * *Consort* is so old.

* *Titan.*

Neptune.

Thetis, Be not deceiv'd, though I be gray,
 My waters still are green, and so they may
 Be wholsomer then Springs, which by and by
 'Pon the least drowth grow shallower and dry.

*Youth is unstable, heady, rash; but age
 Is constant, cautious, provident, and sage.*

Thetis:

I do confess, that you discourse, and reason
 Like a quaint Amorist, although the season
 Of Love in you be past. It was for Love
 The Heavens made *Youth*, for which the Gods above
 Have journeyed down to earth; no other age
 Is fit a Female beauty to engage.

Neptune.

Perfidious thing, I plainly now do find,
 Thou art unto another more inclin'd.

Come winds and tempests, and with my lament
 Your blasts unite; Come, come incontinent,
 Let hispid blust'ring *Boreas* from the North,
 Bring all the Haracanes and Whirlwinds forth,
 Blow off, and banish from my Kingdom quite
 This impious Girle so full of hate and spite.

Revenge the quarrel of your King,
 And with your vengeance Justice bring:
 Shall she in my Dominions dwell,
 Who hath inflam'd my heart with fire from hell?

Charus

The Comedy to be Masked

85

Chorus
 Ingrateful, rash, and foolish Nymphs, canst thou
 Slight thus the greatest of the gods below?
 The grief will be thine own
 When thou art wiser grown.
 Neglected Amorists may learn from hence,
 Against blind Cupids arrows a true fence:
 Disdain of beauty a revenge may be,
 Though not of love th'expelled remedy.

The third Scene.

Thetis, Juno, Jupiter, *A Quire of the furies of*
 Jealousie:

Now that the fury of the wind
 Hath left so sweet a calm behind:

Now that the storm is gone,
 I pray let me alone
 To vent unto my self my moan.

Oh me, I find that ambushes are laid
 To take me and entrap poor silly maid:

What will become of thee my heart?
 Th'art like to suffer many a smart.

Oh me, Oh me,
 Poor heart what will become of thee?

Thy chastity *Love* studies to surprize.
 He's sly and cunning, though not always wise;

He Armour hath of every sort
 For to assault a female Fort:

B

He

The Comedy of the Muses

He prays, complains, and pines;

He menaces and whines.

Now, if another God should join

With him, who can me then destroy?

Oh me, Oh me,

Poor heart what will become of thee?

Jupiter.

What can blest heaven do me avail,

If still of my desire I fail?

Celestial joies, if they to sorrow turne,

Far worse then all *Tartarian* tortures burn.

O *Thetis*, thou alone

Hast made me quit my Throne,

Thou giv'st him law,

Who Gods doth awe

It is my destiny and luck,

By thee for to be deadly struck;

And that which is the greatest wonder

Thy beauti's stronger then my thunder.

But come, O come, my Fair, increase my blisse,

And let's cohabit both in *Paradise*.

Thetis.

O no,

Not so.

Jupiter.

Come and be partner of my Throne

Which *Hymen* offers thee alone,

That Empire *Love* hath thee design'd.

Come, come my Fair, be not unkind

Thetis.

O no,

Not so.

The heavens forbid I should be said,

(For to assume a female Form)

He

B

For

For to be such a Rebel as to wrong
Her * bed who train'd me all along
From my first cradle: I had rather dy
A thousand deaths, and scorch in Tartary.

Jupiter.

If you will use such slight Apologies,
To him who can command both *air* and *Skies*,
To cleer your error, and my pain assuage,
I must use force, my Dear, but far from rage.
Cloud, gently take her up,

*A cloud ap-
pears.*

Thetis.

Oh me.

Jupiter.

What ails my soul?

Thetis.

Aime, who helps me?

Jupiter.

What mortal Creature's hee
Can thee reprove from me?

Juno.

Disloyal *Jove*, is it my hapless fate
Thou should'st so oft thy Faith thus violate?
But since in *Heaven* no Justice can be found,
Or Piety among the Stars, the ground
Shall ope, and *styx* shall belch forth furies fell:
Come then appear, ye gasty dames of Hell;
And help to vindicate
The justness of my fate.

Jupiter.

Farewel my *Thetis*, so enchanting bright,
But know I do not thee abandon quite.

Thetis to Juno.

Great Goddess, I no pardon crave of thee,
But pity, though *infortunate* I be,
Yet I am *guileless*, and from foulness free.

B 2

Juno

*Juno with the
help of the fi-
thers and fu-
ries rescues her*

Such hazards to escape is no offence,
Much less misfortune or incontinence.

Thetis and Jove

Sweet gratitude doth alwayes rest

In a well born gentle breast

The Gods desire no more

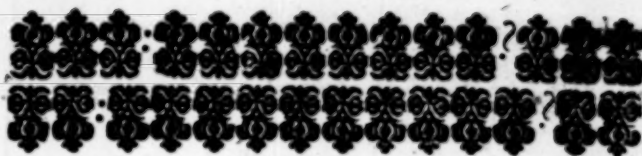
For those blessings in such store,

Which on us Mortals every hour

They in silver shewres do pour.

ACT

Yer I am kniueless, and from foulnesse free,
But bys though inferiour I be,
Great Goddesse, I no pson crave of thee.
But know I do not thee abandon quite.
Farewel my Thee, to encharming bright
The iustices of my fate.



ACT II. SCENE I.

Peleus, Prometheus, *A Quire of dumb men, and
savage women.*

Peleus.

INfortunate *Prometheus*, how thine
Eternal torments are like mine!

Prometheus.

Ah, who is he
Thus speaks to me?

Peleus

'Tis *Peleus* King of *Thessaly*,
Who may thy mate for torture be.

Prometheus

I from the body of the Sun
Stole fire e're scarce the world begun.

Peleus

And I some fiery glances took
From *Thetis* all enchanting look.

Prometheus

Jove chafeth my temerity
By this voracious *bird you see.

Peleus

Prometheus, it is *Jove* the very same
Torments likewise with jealousy my flame.

* A Vultur
preying upon
his heart which
still renews

Pro-

Prometheus

But yours one day
May find allay.

Peleus

But when, and how ?

Prometheus

Ah, ah, my torments grow.

Peleus

O cruel pangs some truce and respite give,
Prometheus, may with counsel me relieve.

Prometheus

I have receiv'd advice from *Mercury*,
The * *Thunderer* will *Thetis* fly, * *Love*.
And his *Ambition* place (as you shal prove)
Before her *Beauty*, or his flames of love;
To credit this you may be bold,
For by the Oracle it is foretold.

Peleus

If it be true what issues from that vicoe,
My soul shal carols sing, my heart rejoice
There never was so coy and cruel she,
But only sought by one, may conquered be.

Prometheus

Go, go, return where thou didst leave thy heart,
Thou shalt find ease for thy corroding smart.

*In the vast sea of Love who ere dath sail
Must lose no wind, and then he may prevail.*

Peleus

The Comedy to the Mask

11

Pelens

For this sweet counsel thou hast given me,
May heaven, O *Prometheus*, set thee free.

Prometheus

The Thunderer may be
Less cruel unto me.

Prometheus, Pelens

O dear, and solacing, sweet blissful *Hope*,
How comforting art *Thou* to those who cope
With rigid beauties? thou dost periods put
To black despair; the Gods did justly shut
Thee out of Hell; Thy breath though ne're so small
Would ease the damned souls in Pluto's Hall.

Pelens to the Savages

And you my faithful guides unto this place,
Enjoy the comforts also I embrace;
Be all partakers of my hopes, and share
Some of my joys, which past expressions are.

The Second Scene.

*Jupiter, Mercury, A Quire of dumb Dryads, or
Wood Nymphs.*

Jupiter

Well,
What did the Oracle at *Delphos* say
Touching my love to *Thetis*, tell me, pray.

Mercury

The Comedy to the Mask.

Mercury

Apollo from the Tripod did pronounce,
The * Son of Thetis (all will see)
Shall greater then his Father be.

* Achilles.

Jupiter

How can that be ? unless the fates renew
In me my * Sire's example, and make't true.

* Saturn thrust
out of Oun by
Jupiter his son.

Mercury

That which *Prometheus* told me also is
No less infallible and true then this.

Jupiter

Then I do find that it doth me behove
To leave commanding Heaven, or not to love.

Mercury

Which do you most desire,
To serve or domineer ?

Jupiter

I hold *Love's* golden fetter,
Then any Empire better,
The one doth thousand sweets infill,
Th'other the brain with cumbers fill.

Mercury

Permit me, mighty *Fove*, to tell you 'tis
Folly of a *Mortal* still to wish,
Under the vail of good, to meet the bad,
Which goes in *Virtues* habit often clad.
But you which o're the *Spheres* do sway,
And such conuscant beams display ;

Can

The Comedy to the Mask.

13

Can you be so transported, as endure
That a blind lying Boy should you allure,
Who will vapour every where,
That he did fether *Jupiter*.
Thetis, suppose, an idle wench should prove :
Have you not Goddesses enough above ?
If you *Olympus* loose, where will you find
Throughout the world a Kingdom of that kind ?

Jupiter

In your Discourse you go so strongly on
That makes me half of your opinion.

Mercury

Nor can you any true content obtain
Whilst you are compast with a double pain.

Juno pursues you with her Furies here,
And *Thetis* may perhaps flye from you there ;
The one is doubtful, th other is jealous still,
Both may confederate to crosse your will.

Jupiter

'Tis true, that *Juno* me pursues,
And raifeth furies by whole crews.

Mercury

She every where doth stir and wheel about,
She doth disturb all Heaven to find you out.

Jupiter

Then *Mercury*, go and proclaime
From Pole to Pole that I disclaim
Thetis, and will no more my Honour maim.

Go speedily.

Mercury

Fove, I will fly.

C

Fove

Jove

Fair Wood Nymphs let this day be Festival
That I my wonted freedom did recal,
Which impious fate and beauty did conspire
To captivate with false and fatuous fire.

Fair Wood Nymphs let this day by all
Be kept hereafter Festival.

The Third Scene.

*A Quire of Priests, a dumb Quire of Cavaliers at
Barriers.*

The Quire of Priests.

Great God of War, the prop, defence and stay
Of Empires, intercede that *Peleus* may
(By favor of that * Goddess whom alone * *Venus.*
Thou dost adore, and art to serve so prone)

Return to sway again fair *Thessaly*:

Behold that amorous Warrior with mild eye.

And you brave Champions propitious make

Our vowes and Altars; let the welkin quake

With the high clashings of your Barriers.

Peleus at his return will pay you your Arrtars.

One of the Priests.

But stay a little, stay,
Our Oracle will something say.

The Oracle

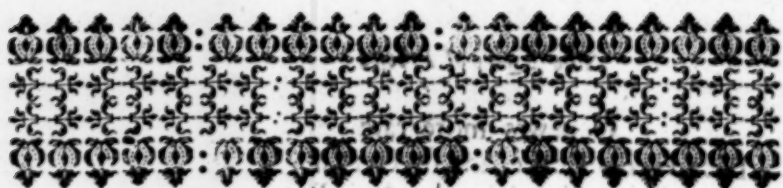
At last the King of *Thessaly*
Shall home return with mirth and glee.

The

The Quire of Priests

O newes more rare
Then *Indian* Pearle, and sweeter far
Then that *Hyblean* juice the *Attic* Bee
Stov'd in her cell for *Joves* Nativity;
And will King *Peleus* come agen?
Then *Thessaly* shall swarm with men.
O newes more rare
Then *Indian* pearle, and richer far.

ACT



ACT III. SCENE I.

Peleus, Chiron, *A dumb Quire of Chirons, Academists, or Disciples.*

Peleus.

FOR him who parts from his delight
Time makes too quick and rapid flight,
 But who is travelling to see his *Love*,
 Each moment unto him an *age* doth prove.
Hope still with doubts, *fruition* with fear
 Is commonly attended every where.

Chiron.

I with my companions here
 Did think to find you full of cheer.
 Now that you are a Champion o're the Gods,
 Of whom for *Faith* and *Love* you have such odds;
 Why do you thus afflict your self with pain?
Faint heart did ne're a *Ladies* favour gain.

Chiron.

Sometimes my spirits are alert and high,
 Then they begin to languish presently;

Because

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Because I fear that *Thetis* heart
May Marble prove; hence comes my smart.

Chiron.

You are deceiv'd; when *Thetis* knowledg had
You left fair *Greece*, and undertook so bad
And hazardous a journey to find ease,
The fury of your passion to appease;
She with a pitying paleness then was struck,
And sighing said, *The Stars send him good luck.*

Go, lay close siege, and let her see

You are resolv'd for Battery.

*The Female who believes she's truly lov'd,
Need not by too long Prayers to be mov'd.*

Peleus.

Your counsel's good: now with alacrity
I will both *Love* and *Fortune* try;
And of the business you shall quickly see
I'll make a shaft or bolt. But where is she?

Chiron.

I'll go in quest of her.
In the mean time let my Disciples dance,
We will be fortunate in spite of chance:

The

The second Scene.

Thetis, Peleus, *A Quire of Peleus Contr-*
tiers.

Thetis

Love, if you will enter like a friend,
Lay down your Armes, let peace attend
Your purposes, and so you may
Be welcome, and so win the day.
If boisterously you me assault,
Come not neer me, but make a halt:
Be sure not to torment my heart,
Or with your passions make it smart.

Peleus.

O *Thetis*, you desire to shun
That which your self to me have done.

Thetis

Ohime.

Peleus.

My Dear,
What do you fear?

Thetis

Thetis

Ohime, when you were far from hence
Love did do much for you; but now
You are so neer, I fear with violence
He will assault me with his bow.
I pray retire.

Peleus.

Will you with such a heart of flint and steel
Convert those pleasing *passions* which I feel
To *pangs*? Shall he still languish
With tears, with doubtfulness and anguish,
Who loves your eyes
More then the Stars or Skies?

Thetis

These words an amorous pleasure do instil
Into my brest, my thoughts with fancies swill;
Fool that I am, I who have made a vow
To any Love enchantments ne're to bow;
I who two Gods for marriage did refuse,
Shall I yeild now
And love-sick grow?
I pray retire.

Peleus.

From those fair eyes I will not part,
Who have infused into my heart

Exit

Grief, and content, with *constancy*;
 All Trophies of your *chastity*,
 And of my *Faith*: where ere you go
 I will adore your shadow too and fro,

Thetis to her self

'Gainst such a charming violence
 If I can find no guard or fence,
 I'll have recourse for quenching of this fire
 Unto the Arts of *Proteus* my great Sire.
Peleus will then desist, unless he fall
 In love with *Lions*, *Monsters*, *Rocks* and all.

Peleus.

Dear, Whats that you whisper?

Thetis

May your laments
 Find their contents.

Peleus

Oh pleasing accents!

Thetis.

But *Peleus* now I wil you disabuse,
 They are fain'd fancies which you thus amuse.
 When you made me the object of your mind
 You took me for a *Nymph*, but you shall find
 I am a ravenous *Lion*, a hard *Rock*,
 A *Monster* that wears clouds in lieu of smock.

A cloud ap-
 pears, wherein
 Thetis enters.

Peleus

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Pelen.

My sweetest friend,
What do you now intend ?

Thetis.

I'll wrap my self within that cloud:

Pelen.

Do not do so, for I shall cry aloud.
O heaven blefs me, what do I see !
Can such a beauteous Creature turn to be
A beast of such immane ferocity ?
You cannot fright me, or make an escape,
My *Thetis* I'll pursue in any shape.
What do I see ? This shape becomes you well,
And shewes that you are cruel, fierce and fell.
But all this cunning will not serve your turn,
The more you horrid are, the more I burn.
A Sacrifice of sighes and groans
I'll offer though you change to stones.
Dear, take your shape again,
And ease me of this pungent pain.

The Cloud vanishes and *Thetis* turns her self into a Lion

She transforms her self into a Monster.

Thetis.

O God,
The more I monstrous make my self in show,
The more my spirits melt, and gentle grow.
I am almost in Love.

Thetis resumes her self.

Pelen

D

Peleus

Almost! That word my panting brest doth pierce,
 And shewes you still are cruel, fell and fierce,
 In lieu of solacing my love-sivohn mind,
 It leaves a double agony behind;
 Ohime, what Lions, Monsters thus oppose
 My vertuous Love, and make themselvs my foes?

Thetis to her self.

I know not where to turne, my spirits are
 in such a strange confusion, yet I dare
 Not say I love as yet; my hot desire
 I will suppress and quench this raging fire.
 The tongue shall give my heart the ly;
 I'll make no haste,
 Though I must yeild at last,
 There is no remedy.

Peleus

Dear *Thetis*, cast on him a pitying eye,
 Whose brest for thee with candent coles doth fry.

Thetis to her self.

Distracted soul, 'tis too too true;
 I must bid now Virginity adieu:
 But sure my lips and faltring tongue doth err,
 Oh did my heart do so; I must prefer
 The heart before the tongue, because the last
 Less noble is, i'th Heart Dame Nature plac'd
 The pure arterial and illustrious blood;
 I fear that I am too well understood.
 By *Peleus*.

Ohime,

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Ohime, by soft degrees I find
That cunning little *God*, though blind,
Doth make his way into my brest,
Maugre my self, I must make him my guest.
Yet I must try once more this *Boy* to mock,
And turn my self into a senseless Rock:

Peleus

Have I again lost *Thetis*? is she gone?
Must I to stones and rocks make now my moan?
O precious cristal Rock, thou now dost hold
A gem more rich then Diamond or Gold;
I fear that at the foot of this hard Rock
My Hope will shipwrack by a fatal shock.
But for strong water made of *Mercury*,
I'll try with tears this Rock to mollifie.
My heat is such, 'twill me to ashes turn,
Then will I make this precious Rock my Urne.

Thetis doth
metamorphoic
her self into a
Rock.

He embraceth
the Rock, and
weeps upon it.

*The Rock vanisheth, whereupon Thetis re-
sumes her shape and speaks.*

Love, Lo, I yeild, I can no more resist
Thy all subduing power, or persist
In my first purposes, thy dart
Hath split in two my tender heart.
Who have no hearts at all are only fit
To cope with thee, and fence away thy hit.
Lo *Peleus* I am thine.

Peleus in a kind of rapture.

Hold heart, do not too wide thy self dilate,
Lest by excess of joy I draw my fate
Too soon upon me, and so dye
Ere I make use of Victory.

D 2

And

The Comedy to the Mask.

And you my faithful followers rejoice,
 And cleave the air with your triumphing voice : The Courtiers
sing.
 You have been sharers of my misery,
 Now you shall share of my prosperity.

The last Scene.

Thetis, Peleus, Prometheus, a Quire of Deities,
 * Hercules, Juno, Hymen, with the * Who had
freed Prometheus
Liberal and Servile Arts.

Thetis and Peleus

Now our Desires
 Do flame with equal fires.
 And there doth nothing want but constancy,
 For to complete both our Felicity.

Peleus.

Thetis, Thou art my chiefest good.

Thetis

And you my heart and precious blood.

Thetis and Peleus

Behold the Gods are come to be our Guests,
 And learn of us what it is to be blest.

Prometheus

Prometheus

Peleus, We now are both from tortures free ;
You *Hymen* help'd, and *Hercules* help'd mee.
And to oblige us further, they are here
To mingle joy with us, and make good cheer.

The Quire of Deities

To them who languish
In pain and anguish,
Love gives at last
A sweet repast.

Thetis, Peleus, Prometheus

Just heaven ne're fails, and Powers above
To recompence a vertuous constant Love ;
Grief, cares, and pain
Turn all at last to gain.

*By this we find adversity to be
The surest road to true Felicity.*

F I N I S.